Daily Report

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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-219 *13 November 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Issues

Continuing Reaction to Outcome of NATO Summit

Gorbachev Hears Report

LD1111163291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1526 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—It is reported here officially that USSR President M.S. Gorbachev today received Umberto Vattani, foreign policy adviser to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy, who arrived with instructions to report on the NATO Council summit session held 7-8 November in Rome. He put forward in detail and commented upon the political declaration and the other documents adopted in Rome, which reflected the process of the transformation of NATO in connection with the profound changes in Europe and the world.

M.S. Gorbachev highly evaluated the Rome meeting in the context of the implementation of the ideas and principles of the Paris Charter for a new Europe. In his words, it is a major event in moving Europe, and that means the whole world also, toward a new epoch.

We are studying the Rome documents, but it is already clear that they are free of the stereotypes and approaches of the "cold war." These are documents of the new era, of new world politics. One can understand that they contain apprehensions and elements of caution, but the main thing that distinguishes them is the new approach, imbued with concern that relations between all the participants of the European process should be relations between partners.

M.S. Gorbachev was positive about the creation of the North Atlantic Council in the activity of which all European countries are to be involved. This is a significant step toward institutionalizing the Helsinki process. The political component of NATO activity is being strengthened at the expense of the military component. Thus, Europe is more and more fundamentally freeing itself of its heritage of past division. We, the president noted, still proceed from the fact that the experience of NATO, and its potential, can and should be used to strengthen what is now common security in Europe, but not at the expense of the formation of new structures within the CSCE. It is important that NATO does not limit contacts with us and with the countries of Eastern Europe to actual military issues alone, but is ready to develop them regarding scientific and technical, military conversion and ecological problems.

The president welcomed the solidarity of the participants in the Rome meeting with our reforms and for their understanding of the significance of the alliance as a major factor in European and world politics. During the course of the conversation a number of other major issues was raised: On the significance of the presence of the United States in the European process, on the guarantees of the safety of nuclear arsenals, on the consequences of joining the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and on specific measures of economic assistance at the present moment. In this context M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the role of Giulio Andreotti in all the mechanisms of the West's new type of economic cooperation with us.

Bogachev Comments

LD0911213691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 9 Nov 91

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow, 9 November (TASS)—"NATO does not require a Soviet enemy in order to preserve the alliance. The main enemy now is instability," U.S. President George Bush stated at the end of the session of the North Atlantic Alliance Council in Rome. In other words, there is no longer a real enemy but one may appear, therefore NATO should be preserved.

The official NATO document, "The New Strategic Concept," states that "in contrast to the main treat of the past the remaining risk to the security of the allies is multifaceted in nature and has many orientations, which complicates the forecasting and appraisal of it. NATO should be in a condition to react to such a risk."

The question arises of where, in the opinion of the alliance, this "multifaceted and unpredictable threat" may ensue from, if the "monolithic and massed threat" from the East has decreased? The NATO document states that the threat may arise "due to the serious economic and political difficulties, including the interethnic conflicts and territorial disputes," that is as a result of internal events in other countries. Perhaps the hundreds of thousands of NATO servicemen remaining within its structure even after the significant reductions, the contemporary Air Force, the navy's, and U.S. nuclear weapons are now directed toward "introducing order" in small countries? Moving away from the problem of the legitimacy of NATO interference in the internal affairs of other countries, it may be said that such utilization of a small part of its huge military potential could be simply one of the secondary tasks of the Western military alliance.

The NATO document on the alliance's new military strategy constantly cites the view that "although total war in Europe has become improbable, it cannot be fully excluded." As before NATO members draw attention to the USSR's conventional forces which are "significantly greater than the forces of any other European state," and references to the particular vulnerability of the Southern and Northern flanks of NATO are repeated. At the same time, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the risk of a Soviet attack on Western Europe is in no way greater than the probability of an invasion of our land by men from outer space. Almost all sensible people understand this.

Nonetheless, it does seem that now the political schism in Europe has been overcome, the continued existence of NATO and the U.S. military presence in Western Europe primarily serves U.S. political and economic interests.

The importance of the NATO countries' recent measures to reduce the level of military confrontation is beyond doubt—they are changing their strategy, have dropped the concept of "flexible response," and are cutting back on their armed forces and weaponry, nuclear included. The very climate of relations between NATO and the USSR has undergone a radical and positive change.

It is also true, however, that overcoming the cold war's consequences by both sides can and should proceed much quicker in the interests of turning our planet into a safer place for human life.

Army Daily Views Strategy

PM1111154591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "NATO: New Strategic Concept"]

[Text] Rome, 7 Nov—The North Atlantic bloc's new strategic concept, which determines the directions and principles of the bloc's activities in the changed international conditions, was approved today by the heads of state and government of the alliance's member countries at a NATO Council session taking place here.

The document is subdivided in five parts which contain an analysis of security problems, set out NATO's new aims and structure, and consider the prospects for developing dialogue and cooperation with countries that belonged to the Warsaw Pact.

Events in recent years in East European countries and the Soviet Union, the document's authors point out, have eliminated the political confrontation in Europe which was the reason for the military confrontation in the "cold war" years. Wide-ranging disarmament initiatives have been undertaken which will continue to be developed in light of U.S. President George Bush's recent proposals. An unprecedented level of openness and trust in the military sphere has now been reached in Europe. NATO welcomes this development of events, considers that further progress on questions of monitoring conventional and nuclear weapons is essential, and favors banning chemical weapons and restricting the import of arms and the distribution of certain types of military technology.

The threat of a simultaneous large-scale attack against NATO in Europe has been virtually eliminated, the document says; however, a new danger has appeared which exists on many planes. It could come from various quarters and, in many respects, is unpredictable. The concept's authors believe that this danger could arise as a result of destabilization caused by serious economic, social, or political difficulties, including the ethnic disagreements and territorial disputes which are manifest in many central and East European countries. NATO might find itself drawn into these conflicts.

Regarding the Soviet Union, the document notes that the changes taking place there, characterized by uncertainty and risk, must not be considered in isolation from the fact that its Armed Forces' numerical strength is considerably greater than that of any European state's army, while its nuclear potential is comparable only to that of the United States. In the opinion of the concept's authors, the North Atlantic bloc must take all this into account in order to maintain the strategic balance in Europe.

NATO leaders still deem it necessary to retain this military potential, which guarantees that war will be averted and ensures a reliable defense. They are also assigning an important role in security questions to the EC, WEU [Western European Union], and CSCE, stressing that today the chance of resolving the tasks facing the alliance by political means is greater than ever before.

NATO also favors ensuring security and stability on the continent with the lowest level of weapons, and developing dialogue with East European countries and other states on the basis of the Paris Charter for a New Europe. The North Atlantic bloc believes that it has no enemies, and stresses that its weapons can be used only in self-defense.

NATO's new concept envisages the retention of a U.S. military presence in Europe. NATO's strategic nuclear forces, specifically those of the United States, are the best guarantee of the bloc's security. Regarding Britain's and France's nuclear weapons, the document perceives them as an important deterrent enhancing the alliance's security as a whole. At the same time, the North Atlantic bloc is proceeding toward a significant reduction in its tactical nuclear weapons, stressing that ground systems of this type will be completely scrapped.

NATO, Security To Be Issues at Meeting

OW1311142491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Consultations on the problems of cooperation in security by the Union, sovereign republics and NATO will take place in Moscow on November 22-23.

The consultations will bring together representatives from sovereign republics, the Baltic states and a delegation of 10 military and civil experts and representatives from the coordinating bodies of NATO, led by the special adviser to NATO's Secretary-General for East European and Soviet policies Mr. Donelli.

The consultations were arranged by several nongovernmental organizations, including the International Federation for Peace and Accord, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Centre of Political and International Studies, the Russian Peace Committee and the Soviet United Nations Association.

The report of the forthcoming consultations say that confrontation and mutual fear are being replaced with cooperation in building a new system of collective security. Various aspects of such cooperation will be examined at the first full-scale session at the International Peace Federation (Prospekt Mira, 36; opening at 10:00 on November 22), by work groups (including those at republican missions) and at meetings with experts from the USSR committee for the military reform.

Upon the end of the consultations the delegates from the republics and Baltic states will be able to participate in an international conference called 'The Armed Forces and Army Service in a Democratic State' on November 25-27. The conference will be held by the 'Armiya i Obshchestvo' (Army and Society) association in cooperation with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defence. More than a hundred Soviet and foreign experts will take part.

Bush, Financial Sources Cited on Aid

PM1211114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[TASS reports under the general headline: "The West Will Give Us Urgent Financial Assistance"]

[Text] The Hague—The EC and the United States must help the Soviet Union and the other countries of East Europe to secure the freedom they have won. This can primarily be done by opening access to Western markets for these states and giving them financial and technical assistance. This was declared by U.S. President George Bush when delivering a speech on the situation in East European states. The U.S. President is in the Netherlands to hold the traditional talks with the EC leadership.

Tokyo—In connection with the increasing likelihood that the Soviet Union will be unable to make the next payments on its foreign debts, on Friday [8 November] representatives of the financial departments of the seven leading industrial countries reached an accord on giving the USSR urgent financial assistance. The newspaper ASAHI reports this, citing sources in international financial circles.

In the course of multilateral consultations at a working level it was decided to defer the deadline for the Soviet Union's current payments, to conduct short-term funding of its debts through the Bank for International Settlements, and to hold the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity responsible for the return of all funds.

At the same time the specific size of the financial assistance has not yet been determined. This is connected, above all, with the fact that there is no unified viewpoint between the USSR and G-7 experts regarding the shortfall.

According to statements by international financial sources, ASAHI writes, people in the G-7 countries understand that the USSR evidently will not be able to meet its commitments this year. Therefore possible collective actions to give the Soviet Union financial assistance also in 1992 are already being studied now.

Asian-Pacific Security Conference Held

PM1111102991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 91 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel P. Kochnev report: "Dialogue in Seoul"]

[Text] An international conference on Asian-Pacific security problems has been held in Seoul. Colonel General V. Novozhilov, commander of the Far East Military District [MD], took part in it. The conference was organized by the Center for U.S.-Soviet Studies at Seoul's Tongguk University. In effect the dialogue on military problems, which began this spring in Tokyo on the initiative of IZVESTIYA and Japan's YOMIURI SHIMBUN, was continued in the ROK capital.

Participants in this debate, including high-ranking military men from the United States and the ROK, along with scientists and journalists, discussed the changes in the military-political situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Troop Reductions Explained

LD1211114291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1033 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Vostokov]

[Text] Khabarovsk, 12 Nov (TASS)—In the very near future, Soviet Armed Forces in the Asiatic part of the country will be cut by 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Far East. Eleven air regiments have already been disbanded, Colonel General Viktor Novozhilov, troop commander of the Far Eastern Military District, told a TASS correspondent. According to the general, the USSR Defense Ministry supports his proposal on halving the number of divisions in the Far East.

Viktor Novozhilov reported all data on the Soviet troop cuts to participants in the trilateral Soviet-American-South Korean meeting in Seoul, at which security problems in the Asia-Pacific region were discussed.

Official Remarks on UN Reform at Meeting

LD1311052991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2008 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—Questions related to UN reform and preparations for the forthcoming eighth session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) were discussed today during a meeting between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and UNCTAD Secretary General Kenneth Dadzie, who is in Moscow on a working visit.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Agriculture Officials

LD1311111191 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev received the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Agriculture Richard Crowder and special presidential economics advisor Ed Hewett.

As the TASS correspondent was informed by the Soviet president's press service, different aspects of the two countries' economic contacts were discussed. "We think it is important to discuss not only current and urgent problems, but long-term problems pertaining to the reconstruction of Soviet agriculture", Gorbachev said before the talks began.

Gorbachev Representative Meets U.S. Visitors

LD1311054791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—Under the present conditions the USSR president is striving primarily to ensure the peaceful evolutionary development of our multinational state and to prevent its uncontrolled disintegration, which would be fraught with severe consequences both for our country and the whole world. This was stated today by Grigoriy Revenko, head of the USSR president's apparatus, at a meeting with a group of U.S. sociopolitical figures who have come to Moscow to take part in the Soviet-U.S. seminar "New Structures of Power."

Grigoriy Revenko told the U.S. representatives about the activities of the president of the USSR and the State Council to stabilize the situation in the country in the transitional period, and about the prospects for overcoming the crisis of power in the USSR and for creating new economic and political structures.

The guests showed particular interest in the prospects for reviving the Novo-Ogarevo process and the possible results of the discussion of the new draft Union treaty at the session of the State Council on 14 November. Sharing the concern expressed by the U.S. side about the state of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, the head of the apparatus of the USSR president reminded them of Mikhail Gorbachev's firm position on the necessity of preserving a single system of command of Soviet nuclear weapons regardless of the place in which they are deployed. As has been shown by the discussions in the State Council, this position is shared by the other republics.

During the meeting there was discussion of the possibility of using U.S. experience in our country, particularly in the sphere of local self-government.

Yakovlev in U.S. for Strategic Stability Talks

LD1211011391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0010 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Lebedev]

[Text] Washington, 12 Nov (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Consultative Council of the USSR President, arrived in the United States on the evening of 12 November for consultations on issues of strategic stability. His agenda provides for meetings with the leadership of the State Department, with U.S. senators and congressmen, and with representatives of U.S. business circles. Yakolvev will deliver a message from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to U.S. President George Bush.

In addition to the capital of the United States, Yakovlev will visit New York, Chicago, and Boston. He plans to make speeches at the New York Council for International Relations, and at Harvard and Princeton Universities.

Cheney Concerned Over Control of Nuclear Arms

PM1211105591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[A. Blinov report: "Cheney Is Concerned..."]

[Text] Washington—Soviet nuclear weapons are now under the strict control of the country's central authorities, but... no one knows what will happen in the future. U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney made this comment in a program of the American CNN-TV Company last Sunday.

In an interview with the well-known commentators R. Novak and R. Evans, the Pentagon head declared that he regards as a real possibility the collapse of the USSR and, as a consequence, the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons.

"We now have sufficiently convincing grounds to believe that the Soviet nuclear systems are under strict centralized control," R. Cheney declared. "However, the problem is that we do not know how matters will stand in a year or two, i.e. who will control the Soviet nuclear arsenal in the future. We simply do not know whether

the center will remain, whether it will be some association of Soviet republics, or whether the republics will individually control nuclear weapons."

According to R. Cheney, he is seriously concerned that a country which possesses 27,000-30,000 warheads could "literally fall apart." As a result of this there will be "a spread of knowledge about weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons, as people who possess technical knowledge will work for other countries."

Recalling that the United States created its own space program after World War II with the help of Werner von Braun, the rocket specialist imported from Germany, R. Cheney said that countries with nuclear ambitions might use the services of specialists from the USSR. "Anyone who was hitherto employed on the Soviet nuclear program could now be hired to work in Pyongyang or Baghdad," R. Cheney declared.

The U.S. defense secretary also does not rule out the possibility that in the event of the USSR's collapse nuclear weapons might end up in the hands of persons who will wish to pass them on to "partners" in other countries.

R. Cheney does not believe that the United States should be afraid that individual republics, having secured nuclear weapons, will use them against the United States. This is "a very remote possibility which does not seem real." Something else is more dangerous: "The fact that they have not made progress with economic reform increases the possibility that chaos will arise, when more incentives will emerge for the spread of the potential than in the past."

CIA Director Gates' Career, Views Profiled

PM1011154091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by I. Kovalev: "R. Gates Is CIA Chief"]

[Text] It has been six months since U.S. President G. Bush appointed Robert Gates as CIA director. Now the Senate has approved the appointment by 64 votes to 31.

Approval was delayed because some senators from the Democratic Party objected to R. Gates: The main objections were that R. Gates was hiding something over the "Iran-Contras" case, that he knew more than he let on; under the previous president he had supplied R. Reagan and the then CIA chief W. Casey with intelligence information tailored in such a way that it conformed to their views as far as possible.

Robert Gates is 48. He is from the state of Kanasas. He graduated in 1965 from a college in Williamsburg (Virginia), obtained a master's degree in history at Indiana State University, and in 1974 graduated from Georgetown University with the degree of doctor of philosophy, having specialized in Russian and Soviet history. R. Gates began work in the CIA in 1966 and in 1986 rose to the post of first deputy director of the CIA [position title as published]. His main specialty was intelligence analysis.

G. Fuller [name as transliterated], a CIA staffer who worked under R. Gates, said of him: "There is no doubt that Bob Gates has very conservative views about the nature of the changes under Gorbachev. But I think he is too smart to be narrow-minded."

During the discussion of R. Gates' candidacy, UPI reports, the senators implied that the new CIA chief would be heading a more compact, structurally altered organization. Hitherto, the news agency continues, nearly one-half of all CIA reosurces have been geared to the Soviet Union. R. Gates himself, at the Senate hearings, said that the CIA would have to change, to avoid becoming obsolete.

It is indicative that discussions of intelligence issues at various political levels in the United States are no longer emotionally charged and fraught with attempts to create the "enemy image" over again. Presumably it was in the hope that the experienced professional analyst R. Gates would consolidate these positive trends that R. Dole, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, called R. Gates "the right man in the right place at the right time."

Congress Committees Approve $1 Billion in Aid

PM1211163591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 5

[V. Gan dispatch: "Our Benefactor, the Pentagon. A Billion Dollars—To Help a Former Enemy"]

[Text] Washington, 11 Nov—Tell me, when has there been a situation whereby members of the U.S. Congress have granted the Pentagon a completely unusual role—to help feed the Soviet Union in the upcoming winter, instead of preparing for war against it?

This time, announcing that mutual accord has been reached on the Pentagon budget for the fiscal year 1992, which has already started, the representatives of the Senate and House of Representatives Armed Services Committees reported on their decision to allow the U.S. Defense Ministry to spend up to $1 billion on the transportation and distribution of food, medicines, personal deliveries [chastnyye postavki], and other humanitarian aid to our country.

Although the U.S. Administration will have the last word on this subject, the legislators' step is in itself a political sensation here. Naturally it did not happen without opposition. Certain republican senators objected quite strongly to the measure that was adopted, stating that this money could best be used at home, instead of helping the Soviets. However, as almost everyone on the Potomac is predicting, both the full Senate and the full House of Representatives will approve the draft Pentagon budget, which was agreed at $291 billion, and

which its authors have called a "road map" for the U.S. military department in the "post cold war" era.

L. Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee phrased what might be called the philosophical essence of the agreement as follows: "Great changes in the area of military danger are forcing us to radically reexamine our views in the sphere of defense problems. The old categories of the type 'right' and 'left' do not work any longer. Now it is a question of the old and the new."

Aspin, incidentally, was the co-author of this plan, together with S. Nunn, and the plan is now based on a fully realistic premise—the prospect of mass hunger and social chaos in a country that possesses 27,000 nuclear combat units. Is this not a legitimate problem for U.S. national security?

At the moment in Washington you can hear complaints to the effect that by allocating $1 billion from the Pentagon budget, the United States is making Moscow the greatest recipient of its aid after Israel and Egypt. Senator R. Smith from New Hampshire sarcastically called the measure "1 billion in unemployment benefits for the Soviet military-industrial complex."

U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney, however, sees these things differently. "We will not oppose the provisions on aid if they are left to our discretion," he said. "First, of course, we will worry about ourselves, but there is a likelihood that circumstances may also arise in the Soviet Union whereby we will want to use at least some of the powers we have been given."

The plan approved by members of both Congress committees also envisages that we will be granted assistance in the transfer of enterprises in the Soviet military-industrial complex onto a civilian footing and a market economy footing. Furthermore, representatives of both chambers' committees are giving the Pentagon recommendations to stimulate capital investments from private business to Soviet conversion, including granting assistance in resolving problems of pollution by our military installations and in helping with the retraining of Soviet servicemen discharged from active service.

As for purely American matters, the approved draft budget, as I see it, also has a specific bearing on us, given our present circumstances. For example agreement was reached on allocating $4.15 billion to the "Star Wars" program, which is far more than the $2.9 billion allocated in the previous budget. At the same time worries were expressed that if the Union disintegrates, control of our nuclear arsenal will suddenly be lost. Therefore, apparently, the United States must intensify its efforts to create an "antimissile shield." Maybe in a way they are right?

Although I think that the creation of this shield is clearly not going to catch up with the pace with which the USSR is disintegrating.

China

Commentary on Sino-Vietnamese Summit Meeting

OW1011174291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Alekseyev commentary; from the "Current Event and Commentary" program]

[Text] Listeners, the Sino-Vietnamese summit meeting ended in Beijing last Friday. The following is a commentary by our station's observer, Alekseyev, on the results achieved at the meeting:

The full normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations is probably the major success achieved at the meeting. For many years since 1979, relations between the two countries were sharply confrontational. Now Beijing and Hanoi have eventually overcome this confrontational and distrustful state and have shaken hands with one another. Both sides now feel they have honor. I think this is an impressive example of approaching international issues on the basis of the new thinking.

Today, the pattern of the world is determined by new positions toward international relations.

What does this really mean?

First of all, it means that total similarity in ideology and practical policies between states with similar social systems is no longer considered essential for them to maintain good relations. This [word indistinct] stand, which assumed a dominant role in the past, has become a leftover from the past and has been discarded in real life.

The summit meeting in Beijing clearly stated that China and Vietnam will establish their relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This is to say that any one of the two sides will not consider it rightful to impose its own view and mode of social development on the other side. While analyzing this major point, I do not mean that there are no longer any differences between Beijing and Hanoi. On the contrary, the meeting in Beijing shows that, even though the two sides share identical viewpoints on key issues of mutual interest, this is not the main concern. Just as has been stated by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, during a conversation with Vietnamese leaders, China and Vietnam respect each other's sovereignty and independence in formulating their respective policies and in safeguarding their national interests. This guarantees the stability of the two countries' good neighborliness. Jiang Zemin said that such relations have far-reaching significance.

Of course, it is very important for Hanoi and Beijing to share identical views on issues of mutual interests. Without a doubt, it is helpful for the two countries to take joint actions in various areas, especially in settling the Cambodian issue. In recent years, China and

Vietnam have expanded their mutual understanding on the Cambodian issue and the extremely useful roles they play in this regard have become the basis of their cooperation, without which the international conference in Paris might not be able to sign an accord on Cambodia and eliminate the final obstacle impeding the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

However, just as Chinese Premier Li Peng pointed out at the Beijing summit meeting, further efforts must be made before the Paris accord can be realized. I think the cooperation between Beijing and Hanoi will play a significant role in this regard. The guarantee lies in the readiness both countries have expressed in Beijing to settle the Cambodian issue on the basis that Khmer people can express their will freely.

Talks 'Important' for Asia

PM1111133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 91 p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent B. Barakhta: "Tragic Page Turned. China and Vietnam Establish Relations"]

[Text] Beijing—Do Muoi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee, has concluded his official visit to the PRC. For several days he held intensive talks in Beijing with Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, while Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, had talks with his Vietnamese counterpart, Vo Van Kiet.

This is an extremely important event not only for the two neighboring countries, but also for the whole of Asia. After more than a decade of confrontation and alienation which developed into armed conflict in 1979, Sino-Vietnamese relations have now been normalized in the course of this summit visit. "The past is at an end," Jiang Zeming said, "the future has opened up."

A wide range of issues were discussed during the talks. This can be seen even from the terse official reports. Naturally, problems of bilateral relations were considered first and foremost. And plenty of them have accumulated over the last few years. These include the border line, trade and economic links, interparty contacts, and much else besides. During the conversations involving the leaders of two of Asia's largest communist parties it was decided to shrug off the accumulated burden gradually in the course of negotiations. The main thing is to put PRC-SRV cooperation on a lasting footing and provide it with a boost for stable onward development. A provisional agreement on the border line has been signed.

Great attention was paid at a meeting in Beijing during Li Peng's talks with Vo Van Kiet to resuming and developing the mutually beneficial trade and economic ties that were severed in the late-1970's. This step is undoubtedly in the interests of the PRC and SRV. An interstate trade agreement was signed.

Interparty ties have also been normalized.

The sides could not disregard international problems. The party leaders noted that a complex situation has taken shape in the world, there is a split forming among the old forces, and new centers of force are developing. However, peace and development are still the main area.

Opinions were obviously exchanged at the meeting about the situation in the Soviet Union and the crisis of the socialist idea, although there were no reports on this. The importance of this matter for the two states is indisputable. The breakup of the Soviet Union as a great power and its unilateral disarmament in the face of the West and increasing constraining debt to and dependence on the world capitalist system cannot help but concern both China and Vietnam.

Cambodia was discussed separately. The sides noted with satisfaction the positive results of the Paris conference on this. Beijing's newspapers write that the resolution of the age-old Cambodian problem was one of the important preconditions for this Sino-Vietnamese summit meeting.

The successful conclusion of the CPV Central Committee general secretary's official visit to China closed a tragic chapter in the history of the two states and peoples.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Miyazawa on Strengthening Relations

LD1211171591 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo November 12 TASS—"It is objectively necessary to accelerate the settlement of the territorial issue between Japan, the Soviet Union and Russia, to sign a peace treaty as quickly as possible. The Japanese Government intends to exert every effort towards this end," Japanese Premier Kiichi Miyazawa told parliament today.

He recalled that during President Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Tokyo this April the sides issued a joint statement and after the abortive August coup d'etat representatives both of the Soviet central and Russian leaderships repeatedly stressed the need to accelerate the settlement of the territorial issue on principles of legality and fairness. "I believe a favourable atmosphere is finally being created," Miyazawa said. He expressed his government's intention to conduct serious talks with the USSR and Russian leaderships.

Miyazawa stressed in particular that Japan should display sincere and warm feelings towards the Soviet people now living on the islands claimed by Japan, must exert efforts to dispell their fears about the future.

Touching on Tokyo's aid to the Soviet Union, Miyazawa noted that the 2.5 billion U.S. dollars, which Japan decided to allocate for these purposes early in October, included humanitarian and technological assistance, as well as money to galvanise bilateral commercial and economic exchanges. He favoured the eventual granting of adequate financial assistance to the Soviet Union. "However, at present the Soviet Union has still not approved any fundamental economic programme and has not created conditions, guaranteeing the effectiveness of such large-scale assistance," Miyazawa noted.

"Japan," Miyazawa said, "welcomes the latest U.S. and Soviet steps in the sphere of nuclear disarmament and hopes there will be further efforts on the part of the nuclear powers in this domain. He reaffirmed that Japan, which has a peaceful constitution, did not plan to become an important military power, threatening other states.

"Favourable tendencies towards peace and stability are now appearing in the Asian-Pacific region," Miyazawa said. "However, there are still unsettled conflicts in the region and, unfortunately, there is still no political climate necessary to establish a regional mechanism, resembling the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," he noted.

According to Miyazawa, Japan will exert efforts to ensure peace and prosperity in the Asian-Pacific region by strengthening relations with countries in this part of the world and by using the existing forums, such as enlarged meetings of ASEAN foreign ministers and the Asian-Pacific Economic Council.

Commentary Analyzes Miyazawa's Soviet Policy

OW0911085991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1400 GMT 6 Nov 91

[Commentary by Mikhaylov]

[Text] On 5 November a new cabinet was formed in Japan. Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa was appointed as prime minister and Michio Watanabe as foreign minister. You will now hear a commentary on this from Mikhaylov, Radio Moscow commentator on diplomatic affairs:

Both Mr. Miyazawa and Mr. Watanabe are known in the Soviet Union as seasoned and influential politicians playing lead roles in both Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] and in the government. Both have visited the Soviet Union—Mr. Miyazawa in 1975 as foreign minister, and Mr. Watanabe twice this year. With a new Japanese cabinet formed, concern and interest are rising in Japan and the Soviet Union as to how bilateral relations between the countries will progress in the future.

There is no doubt that at present a new, forward-looking attitude is becoming dominant in Japanese-Soviet relations. President Gorbachev's visit to Japan and the subsequent Soviet-Japanese summit marked the beginning of substantially new bilateral relations. There has been appropriate and continued dialogue between Soviet and Japanese leaders. They now have personal contacts, exchanges of correspondence, and telephone communication.

There has been a spur in Soviet-Japanese relations in practical terms as well, with progress being made as a result of treaties and agreements concluded at the summit talks. Japan is providing advice and technological assistance needed by the Soviet Union for its economic reform, as well as emergency economic aid to help the country cope with its serious economic problems.

Negotiations are now underway on the conclusion of a peace treaty, which will become the final post-war protocol for settlement of issues between Japan and the Soviet Union, including the issue of demarcation of territories. In short, Soviet-Japanese relations are moving in a upward direction. This being the case, the Soviet Union is hoping that Japan will maintain continuity in its Soviet policy.

In light of these circumstances, recent remarks by Mr. Miyazawa and Mr. Watanabe on the future of Soviet-Japanese and Russian-Japanese relations—as well as on humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union—may be considered appropriate. It appears certain from Mr. Miyazawa and Mr. Watanabe's remarks that the Japanese leadership's policy towards the Soviet Union—as exhibited in the five principles of then-Foreign Minister Nakayama in October—will be maintained on the basis of the spirit of the agreements reached at the Tokyo summit in April.

Miyazawa Government 'Very Flexible' on Islands

OW1211173891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The new Japanese Government led by Premier Kiichi Miyazawa has a "very flexible" position on the "northern territories, [quotation marks as recieved] said a senior Japanese Moscow embassy staffer to DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. According to the diplomat, the breakdown of the August putsch in Moscow led to changes in the Japanese position on the islands. Tokyo appreciates the progress Russia has been making toward democracy and seeks to support it.

According to the diplomat, the US Secretary of State James Baker's statement that the United States share common views with Japan on the "northern territories was an inspiration to Tokyo, but this position is nothing new in the US policy." "The US realizes that Japan's position is just and sensible and, therefore, supports it," said the diplomat. He expressed the hope that the Russian public opinion would change and realize that

the Japanese position is just. The diplomat would want the Russian and Union leaders to heed to Mr. Baker's statement.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Talks With Mujahidin Delegation

Pankin Statement on First Round

LD1211172691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Vasiliy Titov and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow 12 November (TASS)—Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs, today called the talks that have begun in Moscow with a delegation from the Afghan opposition's "transitional government," headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," important for speeding up the achievement of a peaceful political settlement in Afghanistan. The minister voiced this opinion during a conversation with journalists immediately following the conclusion of the first round of the talks.

According to Boris Pankin's statement, the Soviet side attaches great significance to a cease-fire in Afghanistan as one of the main conditions for bringing into play the mechanism of negotiations with the participation of international organizations, including the United Nations. The minister believes that this could lead to the creation of a government that meets the demands of the Afghan people. Furthermore, the USSR is not insisting on any specific persons making up this government or on it having any particular political and religious orientation. "Our commitment," Boris Pankin noted, "is to help create the conditions for the people of Afghanistan to settle all these matters independently and freely."

The minister confirmed that the Soviet Union is open to talks with all Afghan opposition groups, including those not represented in the delegation that has come to Moscow. Moreover, Boris Pankin noted, in order to make the talks process regular and to transform it into an active dialogue, the Soviet side has proposed a permanent working mission in Peshawar.

On the problem of Soviet POW's in the hands of the opposition, the USSR foreign minister said that the sides have deemed this problem serious and requiring settlement, just like the problem of imprisoned mujahidin in Afghanistan.

Rabbani's Demands Not 'Realistic'

LD1211221791 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS commentators Vasiliy Titov and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—An intensive dialogue between the Soviet side and the delegation of Afghan mujahidins that arrived in Moscow has been going on for the second day. Participants in the talks themselves think that although talks are "constructive", they are an uphill job.

After the delegation of mujahidins met Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy on Monday [11 November], its head—acting foreign minister in the "interim government of Afghanistan" Burhanuddin Rabbani—alleged the Russian side supports the advent to power in Kabul of the "Islamic government" and is ready to "remove" President Najibollah.

In circles close to the Soviet delegation they explained that Rutskoy meant a government that will come to power in Kabul after nation-wide elections. It will be supported and recognised by Russia even if it is "Islamic", i.e. if it represents groups that are in opposition to President Najibollah. The difference is essential.

At talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, in which his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev also took part, Rabbani put forward three conditions for solving the Afghan conflict following an "ultimate victory" by the armed opposition in the civil war. They included the demand that "Najibollah be deposed", all agreements, including economic ones, between Moscow and Kabul signed in the past 13 years be abrogated and Afghanistan be paid reparations for the damage caused by Soviet troops. The Afghan opposition put the cost of these reparations at about 100 billion dollars.

Even judging by their first evaluations, Rabbani's demands cannot be described as realistic. First, the Soviet side is not empowered to solve issues of the internal setup in another country. This time sank into the long ago. One ought to take into account that Najibollah and the forces that stand behind him represent a weighty political reality that cannot be ignored.

The opposition leaders maintain that the regime in Kabul does not enjoy the support of the Afghans. It would be more logical to hold free and democratic elections that would pre-determine the opposition's victory. But mujahidins flatly reject to follow this path.

Second, as for the Soviet-Afghan documents on cooperation, they are inter-state and are aimed at real assistance to the population of Afghanistan. The USSR and the United States are known to have agreed to halt weapons shipments to the warring parties after January 1, 1992, which was received positively by the mujahidins' leaders. Withdrawing aid to the population of the neighbouring country, who continue to suffer from military operations, would be illogical and inhuman.

Third, the problem of reparations, in the form in which it was presented at the talks, cannot be solved even in principle at the present stage. The Rabbani delegation's evident intention to link all these conditions to the

humane problem of the liberation of Soviet prisoners of war also puts one on one's guard.

Rabbani Urges 'Official Regret'

OW1211180491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin told [word indistinct] after the first round of talks with the Afghan opposition delegation led by Burhanuddin Rabbani in Moscow Tuesday [12 November] that the Soviet Union neither insists on the establishment of some special regime in Afghanistan, nor suggests anyone for leading posts there. The talks focus on ways of settling the Afghan conflict politically and having all POW's, both Soviet and Afghan, released. The USSR is represented by Mr. Pankin and his RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] colleague Andrey Kozyrev. [passage omitted]

Mr. Rabbani told IF [INTERFAX] that the mujahidin believe the USSR should express official regret for the wrong done to the Afghans, stop any assistance to the unlawful regime of Najibollah, display its readiness for cooperation in practical terms, and promise that there would be no repetition of aggression against Afghanistan.

Rabbani Promises Help for POW's

OW1211060491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Dr. Burhanuddin Rabbani, acting foreign minister in the Transitional Afghan Government based in Pakistan, has said the Afghan opposition is ready to do everything in its power to help Soviet POW's return home as soon as posible from Afghanistan.

Addressing a meeting of missing Soviet servicemen's parents in Moscow on Monday [11 November], the Afghan oposition leader said the return-home of POW's could be accelerated if those working for it increased pressure on the Soviet authorites which he said were still hesitant about stopping assistance to the pro-Communism regime in Kabul. Dr. Rabbani said in his interview for IF [INTERFAX] that his meeting with Russia's Vice-President Alexander Rutskoy had been constructive and suggestive of cooperation with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] leadership. He described the release of Soviet POW's as a"purely humanitarian, non-political problem" and a "matter of Muslim generosity."

Rabbani Says Outcome 'Beneficial'

LD1211114491 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Report from Moscow by unidentified "Voice and Vision" correspondent]

[Text] The first round of direct talks between the Afghan mujahidin and Soviet officials began officially last night at the premises of the parliament of the Russian Federation. During the talks, in which the Afghan mujahidin leaders based in Iran and Peshawar of Pakistan were present, the nature of the future Afghan government and joint agreements were discussed.

In an interview following the talks, Burhanuddin Rabbani, the leader of the Afghan Islamic Society [Jami'at-e Eslami], described the outcome of the talks as highly beneficial and fruitful. He stressed: The talks will continue and there are important issues on the agenda of the talks which will soon be published. He said: We have explicitly reiterated that only an Islamic government can resolve the Afghan crisis. He added: The present Afghan Government cannot reflect the opinions of the Afghan nation.

Continuing their visit to Moscow, the joint Afghan mujahidin delegation met with the families of the Soviet POW's in the war with Afghanistan at the Russian parliament's press office.

In a news conference, Mr Mortazawi, the spokesman of the Tehran-based Afghan mujahidin remarked on the oppression sustained by the Afghan nation, and called on the Soviet authorities to increase their help in resolving this humanitarian issue.

The aforementioned delegation is to hold separate meetings with Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, and Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, this afternoon.

Shiite Rebel Leader Interviewed

OW1311043991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "If the Soviet Union admits and condemns the mistakes it has made in its policy towards Afghanistan in the last 13 years, it will have another good neighbor after a Muslim regime is established in Afghanistan," Seyed Rahmatollah Mortazawi, leader of the Shiite section of the Afghan opposition based in Iran, chairman-speaker of the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan, told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent in Moscow. He is a member of a delegation of the Afghan opposition which has had meetings with USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

According to Mr. Mortazawi, "all mujahidin groupings wish Najibollah to be overthrown and an Islamic state established."

Mr. Mortazawi said the negotiations in Moscow had so far been successful. The principal issues were a settlement in Afghanistan and the release of prisoners on both sides.

Prospects for Talks Assessed

PM1211121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[V. Skosyrev report: "Will Mujahidin Return Our Prisoners? Afghan Armed Opposition Delegation in Moscow"]

[Text] There has been a wealth of diplomatic sensations this November in Moscow. In the wake of the first visit by a Republic of South Africa foreign minister, an Afghan mujahidin delegation has also come to our country for the first time. It comprises two groups. One represents the Afghan transitional government based in Peshawar (Pakistan). The other represents eight Afghan opposition parties of Shiite Muslims based in Tehran.

Talks between recent deadly enemies always harbor the threat of failure. However, Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, the leader of the Peshawar group and acting foreign minister, tried to dispel the fears of the journalists who met him at the airport, stressing his readiness to cooperate with "Soviet Russia's new authorities" in order to put an end to the war in Afghanistan. In Rabbani's opinion, peace and security will only be restored in the region when an Islamic government is established in his country. But what must be done in order for this to occur? The professor believes that, because Moscow has invited the mujahidin to visit, it must also put forward new ideas.

The reluctance to put cards on the table before the talks begin is quite understandable. But when you compare Rabbani's statement in Moscow with what he said previously and also with an interview given by K. Gaylani, a member of his delegation, it becomes clear that the mujahidin espouse a tough line on the question of an Afghan settlement. First, they refuse to enter into dialogue with President Najibollah or even with members of his government, something on which the Soviet Union has previously insisted. Second, the Afghan opposition intends to demand that we stop all aid to Kabul.

But what does this mean? As is well-known, the USSR-U.S. accord reached in September envisages that as of 1 January 1992 both powers will totally cease arms shipments to the combatant parties. But the Soviet-U.S. document makes no mention of shipments of fuel, food, and other commodities. This may possibly be a stumbling block at the coming meetings. Informed sources do not rule out the possibility that the sides will confine themselves merely to setting out positions, with another round of talks having to be held later.

The statement issued by the delegation's leader on our prisoners of war sounded more reassuring. "Even when the Soviet Army was in Afghanistan, we treated prisoners very well, in a humane fashion, according to the fundamental principles of the Islamic religion. Some have been handed over to the Red Cross," Rabbani asserted. The mujahidin intend to pay particular attention to them now, at the meetings in Moscow, he continued, in view of the feelings of Soviet soldiers' mothers, wives, and sisters.

Of course, it is risky to make any predictions here. But at any rate before coming to our country the mujahidin made a gesture of goodwill. They took an Uzbek soldier, I. Erkayev, with them to Saudi Arabia, through which they passed en route to Moscow. "We asked him whether he wants to return home. He hesitated. We are willing to bring Erkayev's parents to Saudi Arabia so that he can decide for himself once he has spoken to them," the professor said.

How many of our guys are we talking about? REUTER reported 10 November that there are 60-80 people in the hands of the armed opposition. But when I asked a member of the mujahidin delegation to confirm or deny that figure, he refused to do so. One can only guess why. Admittedly, it is known that most POW's are being held by fundamentalist groupings under G. Hekmatyar, R. Sayyaf, and M. Khalis, and they have not sent representatives to Moscow.

That is why the delegation head's assurance that "in principle he represents all parties within the transitional government" sounded unconvincing. Nor is it clear how relations will develop between the Peshawar and Tehran sections of the delegation. After all, these two alliances of armed insurgents have hitherto had difficulty finding a common language.

Whereas disagreements in the mujahidin camp have long been public knowledge, given the current uncertainty in our country questions are also arising regarding the monolithic nature of the Soviet position. The Union no longer exists, after all. Consequently, both the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Russian leadership will take part in the talks. In addition to a member of its diplomatic service, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegation will also include I. Andronov, a member of the Russian parliament who in the past has sharply criticized the Union Foreign Ministry's Afghan policy.

During a conversation with me Andronov claimed that the Foreign Ministry had missed its chance to link the accord with the Americans on suspending arms shipments with the mujahidin's release of our prisoners. For his part, a USSR Foreign Ministry staffer said that this link was simply impossible since the United States does not control the mujahidin. At the same time, in a commentary on the Soviet-U.S. agreement Washington promised to help free the Soviet soldiers.

Be that as it may, both the Russian parliamentarian and the Union diplomat gave assurances that disagreements will not prevent them from acting in a coordinated fashion, in the interests of our power. Well, let us hope that that will be the case.

The mujahidin had a number of meetings scheduled for 11 November. They visited RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy and prepared to talk to the POWs' relatives.

Commentary on Delegation's Visit

LD1111162691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The talks are difficult. The leader of the mujahidin delegation, Burhanuddin Rabbani, though believed to be a moderate, sticks to a tough position. He turns down any participation of Najibollah and his supporters in a peace settlement, which is, according to Moscow, unrealistic. But the main thing is that the dialogue has already started. This first of all explains some progress in the position of the mujahidin, though not all of them, and their realization that war lacks prospects. Second, the change in Moscow's lopsided approach, when the interests and sentiments of the Afghan opposition were not taken into account.

But those observers, who believe that now Moscow must give up its treaty and legal commitments before Kabul, should refrain from hasty conclusions. These commitments are still in force. As of 1 January next year, Moscow stops supplying weapons to Kabul while the United States discontinues its arms deliveries to the opposition. The Kabul government welcomes this step.

As to the future state structure of Afghhanistan, the Soviet Union will respect any decision passed by the Afghan people and Moscow agrees that free elections under international control are needed to reveal the will of the Afghan people, so do Washington, the United Nations, and the Kabul government. All political forces should take part in the elections. To establish preliminary contacts the Soviet Union should appear as an official or unofficial mediator and render good services, without giving preference to anybody.

And the next problem: the destiny of the Soviet prisoners of war captured by the mujahidin. So far, this country could achieve freedom for only some of them. Moscow doesn't demand their obligatory return home, it is up to them to decide. They will not be persecuted for some possible crimes. It is important these people get a chance to choose freedom. Moscow believes that the Afghan opposition would not use the problem of prisoners of war as a trump card in a political game. Moscow hopes the mujahidin will show humaneness and thus prove their good intentions.

Afghan Mujahidin Leader Hekmatyar Interviewed

PM1311114191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with Afghan Mujahidin leader Golbuddin Hekmatyar by special correspondent A. Vasilyev at "his military camp", datelined Paktia Province, Afghanistan; date not given; carried under the general heading: "The Mujahidin in Moscow and At Home."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Vasilyev] Mr. Hekmatyar, how do you assess the situation in Afghanistan today?

[Hekmatyar] Unfortunately, we have to continue the armed struggle. We expected that the Najib regime would collapse shortly after the withdrawal of Soviet troops and peace would reign, but he is still in power, since Moscow is helping him with arms.

[Vasilyev] How strong are Najib's positions, in your opinion?

[Hekmatyar] The Kabul regime is very weak; it will not hold out long. We are waging successful battles near Gardeyz, Qandahar, Jalalabad, and in other directions. We are now very close to final victory.

[Vasilyev] How do you perceive Moscow's position? Has it changed at all recently?

[Hekmatyar] We expected major changes when Gorbachev came to power. But the opposite happened: The Soviet Army stepped up operations and increased arms deliveries. Now that the Soviet Union has committed itself to ending deliveries starting with the new year, the situation will, of course, be different.

[Vasilyev] And what will happen to you when the Americans halt deliveries as well?

[Hekmatyar] We will be only too happy. I am against any interference by Americans in our country's affairs.

[Vasilyev] Who in your view is determining Soviet policy over Afghanistan to a greater extent today—Gorbachev or Yeltsin?

[Hekmatyar] Yeltsin. I know that even earlier he was for ending arms deliveries. Gorbachev on the other hand was surrounded by conservatives: the CPSU, the KGB, and the Army. Yeltsin does not have these problems.

[Vasilyev] What do you think of the prospects for talks between the various mujahidin groupings and Moscow?

[Hekmatyar] I am in favor of direct talks between us. But we should negotiate honorably, and not turn everything into a political spectacle, as the Soviet side has been doing up till now. Even now Moscow is behaving insincerely, trying to decide Afghanistan's future not with us but with the United States.

[Vasilyev] Why then did you speak out against the visit of mujahidin representatives to Moscow?

[Hekmatyar] If I had expected any real results to come of it, I would have sent my own people. But they are steering matters toward the creation of a coalition government with the participation of individual mujahidin groupings, representatives of the current regime, and King Zahir Shah. All this has been conceived by Washington, and Moscow is obediently following suit.

I am against representatives of the current regime. I am against Zahir Shah. I view him as the principal cause of our national tragedy. A coalitional government is impossible in our country, since it would in one way or another be weak and unable to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan.

I will never accept any government foisted on us by foreigners. It must be chosen by the people; only then will it be strong.

[Vasilyev] What is your position on the issue of Soviet POW's?

[Hekmatyar] First, it must be settled honorably. We recently released one Soviet prisoner, but the people we demanded be returned to us have still not been returned. This is not a serious approach. After all, more than 35,000 of our people are listed as missing in action. Their families are waiting for them. Second, the captives are the main issue for Moscow. For us it is only part of the Afghan settlement problem. Everything must be solved comprehensively.

[Vasilyev] Can you say how many POW's your group has?

[Hekmatyar] I am unwilling to do so. I can say only one thing: I have a sufficient number of them. Incidentally, I intended to bring one to the meeting with you, but then I had second thoughts...

[Vasilyev] How are you treating them?

[Hekmatyar] These people are our guests. We will send them home as soon as it becomes possible.

[Vasilyev] As far as I know, some of our former servicemen fought against the Soviet Army and are now fighting against Najib. Do you have any of these?

[Hekmatyar] I have some men. They are good fighters and can rightly be considered heroes of our resistance.

[Vasilyev] Suppose you actually take power. Can you guarantee the safety of Najib and his family if they remain in Afghanistan?

[Hekmatyar] He has to give up power of his own accord and end the bloodshed; then his safety will be guaranteed. After all, it is no accident that we have declared a general amnesty for those who give up the armed struggle and come over to our side.

[Vasilyev] You already have contradictions between different groupings. What will happen when you begin sharing power in Kabul?

[Hekmatyar] Do not worry, we will solve the problem of contradictions. Your country, in my opinion, has suffered badly from the one-party system. We will have a multiparty system. And the ruler will be the one who is chosen by the people.

[Vasilyev] How do you perceive Soviet-Afghan relations if you take power?

[Hekmatyar] Our countries could be good neighbors provided, of course, Moscow pays compensation for the damage inflicted on our country.

[Vasilyev] Can you name an approximate figure?

[Hekmatyar] It will be determined during talks. There are 1.5 million Afghans dead—how do you put a price on that?

[Vasilyev] It is said that the mujahidin want to organize something along the lines of the Nuremberg trial for Soviet officers who especially "distinguished" themselves in the Afghan war. Do you have any specific names?

[Hekmatyar] In my opinion, people in your country are already demanding punishment for war criminals, also. We support this idea, but you must decide for yourselves who deserves punishment. [Hekmatyar ends]

The conversation finished. Hekmatyar invited me to dinner, although he did not eat himself: He was fasting. Dinner was served on the floor in his small office containing a writing table, a teleprinter, and a radio telephone, with operations maps of Afghanistan on the walls. He went over to one of the maps:

[Hekmatyar] Would you like me to give you a guided tour of our country? Would you like to look down from the hills onto nighttime Kabul?

[Vasilyev] Can your people escort me to the Soviet Embassy in Kabul in broad daylight?

[Hekmatyar] Yes. Only you need to change into our national dress. I will send the commander of one of my brigades with you. You will find a common language with him: He was formerly one of yours. [Hekmatyar ends]

But these plans were fated not to materialize: An international scandal might have ensued, and the Pakistani authorities have no interest in allowing this to happen. All the same, I was given a tour of Paktia Province.

These regions are regularly shelled by government troops, and I saw mountains that had been defoliated by bombs and shells, the ruins of a bridge, an abandoned village. The Afghan Army often fires Soviet "Scuds" in this direction, which are not famous for any great accuracy, and hence they quite often fly over Pakistani territory, too. Returning to Pakistan I saw a market right near the "Durand Line": "Scuds" have landed here on several occasions, killing traders and peasants. But life

goes on, and people at the market continue to sell by weight mujahidin shell casings and molten pieces of iron left over from Dr. Najib's missiles....

Afghan President Najibollah Interviewed

LD1011184691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1525 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Video report from Afghanistan by correspondent A. Shkirando, including interview with Afghan President Najibollah by Shkirando; place and date of interview not given—recorded; Najibollah in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [Shkirando] In Afghanistan, just 10 percent of the population is literate. But as far as politics and especially news on the political theme is concerned, you will not find any illiterate people here. Moreover, such news gets around unbelievably quickly. [passage omitted]

There are two themes in the focus of Afghans' attention these days: the discussion of the address by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar at the 46th session of the UN General Assembly, in which he put forward his view of the Afghan settlement, and the upcoming trip to Moscow by a mujahidin delegation. Everybody here hopes that the solution of the Afghan problem will at last get off the ground. Every Afghan thinks that the main thing is that inter-Afghan dialogue should begin as soon as possible.

President Najibollah gave an order to the governor generals of the provinces and to the commanders of the armed forces, using the authority of local public and religious figures, to contact the commanders of armed opposition formations and to take practical steps to effect a cease-fire at the level of kishlaks, uyezds, and provinces. However, I recently visited posts situated near Kabul. We saw that so far one can only dream of an end to military activities. [passage omitted]

Mr. President, what do you see as the solution to the Afghan problem in the situation which has evolved, and how realistic does the settlement plan proposed by the United Nations Organization seem to you?

[Najibollah] The situation in our country and the circumstances on the international arena give rise to confidence that the problem of Afghanistan may be resolved by political means. The majority of Afghans are impatiently awaiting the establishment of peace. Many of the opposition have also grown tired of war. The leadership of the Peshawar Alliance of the Seven is also among the forces which favor a peaceful settlement. Such a settlement of the Afghan crisis is supported by many representatives of the Afghan intelligentsia in the West and also by supporters of the former king.

Thus, a good basis has appeared for an inter-Afghan dialogue, all the more so since the new situation which has arisen in the world and the new approaches to the solution of regional conflicts further this dialogue.

As far as the UN plan proposed by Perez de Cuellar is concerned, we immediately supported it warmly as an all-embracing basis for the settlement of the Afghan problem. I am sure that if all the forces and sides involved in the conflict, both inside the country and beyond its borders, adopt a position supporting the UN secretary general, and especially the recent Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan, peace will be restored quickly on Afghan soil.

[Shkirando] Mr. President, nevertheless, I would like to know more specifically your prediction for the development of the situation in Afghanistan after 1 January next year, when the Soviet- American statement comes into force.

[Najibollah] We have every grounds for looking optimistically at the development of the situation, both after January 1992, too. We assess the joint Soviet-American statement, which provides for an end to arms deliveries to all countries involved in the conflict, as a step toward the peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. The experience of the past years has shown that the Afghan problem cannot be resolved by military means. Therefore, in this event, if any state delivers arms to our opponents that will mean it is encouraging bloodshed and destruction in our country. I should also note that war is not only not to the advantage of we Afghans. Neither is it to the advantage of our neighbors or of stability in the region, and it contradicts the interests even of the West European countries and the United States since the continuation of war in Afghanistan will step up the flow of drug trafficking even more in this country.

There is no doubt that the irreconcilable part of the opposition supported by the military circles of Pakistan will try to buy weapons and ammunition with the money obtained from the sale of that dangerous poison. We hope that the United Nations, in particular the United States and the USSR, will find the necessary ways of for bringing influence to bear upon Pakistan in order to ensure that it supports in a practical way the aforementioned statement, and thereby furthers the guarantee of peace and calm in our country.

East Europe

Execution of Soviet Soldiers in 1956 Reported

LD1311115291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Zhirnikhin and Andrey Kuklin]

[Text] Budapest, 13 Nov (TASS)—A mourning ceremony has been held on one of the central streets of Budapest, in honor of 2,200 Soviet soldiers who went over to the side of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and were shot for it in the compound of the USSR Embassy in Hungary. This sensational report was transmitted

recently by the Hungarian national agency MTI. Literally within minutes of the information going out, a correction was issued with a request to newspaper editorial offices that they kill the figure cited in the report.

Let us say right away that the case is extraordinary. Nothing like this has ever been published in the local press, even after the change of regime that took place in Hungary. What is more, no one has ever heard of a case of Soviet soliders being shot ever being mentioned in any of the emigre literature, or in the illegal opposition Samizdat that existed during the years of socialist construction.

Journalists from the Budapest branch of TASS have decided to clarify the situation. MTI referred to information received from the representatives of a public organization: The Hungarian Union of 1956. The chairman of the Union, Janos Roik, received the TASS men at its headquarters. He has no doubt that the execution of the Soviet soldiers in the embassy courtyard did, in fact, take place.

[Roik] The veterans of the people's uprising of 1956 have always felt a great respect toward the Soviet soldiers who supported the Hungarian revolution in 1956, said the leader of the Union. We know that many Soviet servicemen did at that time sympathize with the insurgents, and some even openly supported the revolution and took its side. We also know that these soldiers were executed in the barracks and in the courtyard of the Soviet Embassy for their refusal to obey orders and shoot at Hungarian people. On the anniversary of these events, we bow our heads before the courage not only of the Hungarian revolutionaries, but alsc of the Soviet soldiers who refused to carry out criminal orders. They, who probably never had been to Hungary before, saw its people, who had risen from their knees and fought for their rightful case, proving that socialism could not kill in them their sense of justice and noble feelings. On behalf of our people I would like to stress that we want to be friends with the Soviet people. We believe that it was not the fault of the Soviet people; they were being used for the supression of the Hungarian revolution.

[TASS] But what evidence do you have that the soldiers and officers who took the insurgents' side were executed in the Soviet Embassy? Or that such cases took place at all?

[Roik] Unfortunately, we have no documents to prove this. We know all this from the accounts of people who during this tragic time heard shots from the Soviet Embassy during the night, and in the morning saw tightly closed vans driving out from its gates. Regrettably, most of the eyewitnesses are no longer alive.

[TASS] And where did you get this figure of 2,200 executed?

[Roik] This is an approximate figure. Unfortunately, we do not have any documents.

[TASS] Perhaps the Hungarian security services have some information in their archives about this case?

[Roik] I would not think that the Soviets gave such information to the Hungarians.

[TASS] But then how can your information be proved?

[Roik] We believe that many Soviet soldiers really took the side of the insurgents in 1956. Many of the participants in these events have reported this, as well as the real possibility that these soldiers were executed. As for the documents, they could have been preserved only in the Moscow KGB archives. We should be looking for them there. Perhaps some of the Soviet servicemen who took part in surpressing the revolution in Hungary can say something about this, as well.

Of course, none of those who worked at the Soviet Embassy in Budapest during the tragic fall of 1956 are there today. Incidentally, the embassy was headed at that time by Yu.V. Andropov, and on his staff was V. Kryuchkov, future chairman of the KGB and member of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. It goes without saying that there are no documents about any shootings in the embassy. Nor did conversations with veterans of the diplomatic service in Hungary clarify anything. None of them had ever heard anything like it—even in conversations, as they say, over a glass of vodka.

It is, however, quite possible to suppose that some of the Soviet troops during the course of the Hungarian events refused to carry out orders, and even—which cannot be ruled out—went over to the side of the insurgents, but confirmation of this must be sought not in Hungary, but in the Soviet Union. Perhaps someone will respond to this information? Our inquiries in Hungary are continuing.

West Europe

Further on Shaposhnikov Visit to Germany

Received by Stoltenberg

PM1311122691 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Chistyakov under general heading: "USSR Defense Minister's Visit to FRG"]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Nov—A welcoming ceremony for the Soviet defense minister was conducted by Gerhard Stoltenberg, head of Germany's military department, on the parade ground outside the FRG Defense Ministry complex of buildings.

Then, after a brief unofficial conversation, Ye. Shaposhnikov and G. Stoltenberg proceeded to the minister's official office, where talks began behind closed doors.

"We view with great satisfaction the fact that the new USSR defense minister's first foreign visit is to Germany," General Klaus Naumann, general inspector of the Bundeswehr, told TASS' correspondent. "We see this visit and the forthcoming talks between military delegations from the two countries as important evidence of the changes taking place in Europe and of the transition from confrontation to collaboration. The German military believes that now is the most appropriate time to step up relations of cooperation between our countries."

News Conference Held

LD1211170591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1352 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn, 12 Nov (TASS)—Opening today's news conference on the first official visit to Germany by Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the USSR minister of defense, FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg said: "The conversations I have held with Marshal Shaposhnikov have impressively confirmed the radical improvement in relations between our states." Stoltenberg said that the principal themes in the talks held have been the exchange of views on topical questions of foreign and security policy, the development of relations between the two states' defense ministries and armed forces, the forthcoming ratification of the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, and cooperation from the Soviet side in the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from the territory of Germany.

The FRG defense minister told journalists that since 1990, a program for increasing contacts between the two countries' Armed Forces has been working successfully. Many visits and meetings have already taken place, including those involving leaders of training academies, military medical staff, historians, and sportsmen. There is due to be an exchange of students from the General Staff Academy and cadets from military training schools. "We are ready to exchange experience and cooperate with the Soviet Union in all matters relevant to defining the place of armed forces in a democratic state," Stoltenberg remarked.

"Our primary concern should be directed at ensuring stability in Europe," he remarked. "The path to greater security in the continent requires measures to strengthen trust and good relations and reliable control—particularly over nuclear weapons—and to continue the process of arms control." Dealing with the question of the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] from the territory of the FRG, Stoltenberg described cooperation between the relevant official levels in the Bundeswehr and the WGF as "effective and good". The approach of the Soviet side is in keeping with the spirit and content of the agreements, the minister said.

One subject of conversation in Bonn had been the implementation of the program to build housing for servicemen returning home from Germany. The FRG defense minister cited figures to the effect that construction work had already begun at six sites where 9,000 apartments are to be built. Around 2,000 servicemen's families are expected to be re-housed by the end of this year. "We have earmarked goals which derive from our common interests and we shall strive to attain them," the FRG defense minister said in conclusion. "This gives us confidence that together we will successfully deal with both present and future tasks."

In his remarks, Ye. Shaposhnikov said that he had accepted with satisfaction the invitation to visit the FRG and get to know the country, its Armed Forces, and his military colleagues. We have many common interests connected with the presence of Soviet troops in Germany and their withdrawal. During the talks, we discussed all aspects of these problems, the Soviet defense minister noted. Regarding the prospects for bilateral relations in the military field, we have established the existence of common approaches to their development and we agreed that they should be based on mutual trust and cooperation.

Touching on the role of the Soviet Armed Forces during the August putsch, Ye. Shaposhnikov stressed that "it was not a military coup". The military, in his words, remained on the side of the more democratic part of Soviet society. "The Army has been and remains with the people and now there are all the preconditions for the processes occurring in society and in the Army to be irreversible", he pointed out.

The USSR defense minister informed journalists of the main areas of radical army reform: the process of eradicating party structures, which is nearing completion; structural changes, including the reorganization of the central bodies and creation of a committee of defense ministers of the sovereign republics; and organizational and social measures.

The Soviet Union, stressed Ye. Shaposhnikov, will strictly observe all obligations resulting from treaties concluded earlier in the area of disarmament and arms control. This will be our contribution to strengthening trust and cooperation on the continent. "I would like to hope that we have now entered a new era of history in which there is no need to view each other through gun-sights and in which the opportunity has emerged to settle all matters in a spirit of good sense. The peace and happiness of peoples is worth working indefatigably for these noble objectives," he stated.

Replying to questions from journalists concerning Soviet nuclear weapons, the USSR defense minister emphasized that there is not a single element of nuclear ammunition belonging to our troops on the territory of Germany now. As for nuclear weapons on the territory of sovereign republics of the USSR, not a single one of these republics is laying claim to possession or control of those systems. It is wholly normal, nevertheless, that the leaders of the republics should be entitled to receive

information about where and in what capacity those weapons are deployed. Shaposhnikov said that representatives of the sovereign republics have reacted positively to the USSR's coming steps to do away with tactical nuclear ammunition. This could represent not only another stage in advancing toward a nuclear-free world but also a kind of "stop signal" for the unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons. The minister announced that the withdrawal of tactical systems from a number of republics has already begun, with a view to their subsequent destruction.

In conclusion, Shaposhnikov dwelled on a number of practical aspects of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Germany and their withdrawal from there. He said that the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry is not making any additional financial demands on the German side. At the same time, the question of facilities belonging to the Soviet side and built with its funds but which are to be left on FRG territory when the troops are withdrawn remains to be resolved at separate talks.

Makes 'Favorable Impression'

LD1211220191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Video report by correspondent V. Kondratyev from Bonn, including recorded interview with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's visit to Germany is taking place during a period of change in the North Atlantic defensive alliance. It also coincides in time with a process of radical change in the concepts of Soviet security policy. A growth in military might in the republics is taking place in parallel with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, irrespective of whether they want to separate from the central power or not.

[Kondratyev] Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov explained to journalists in Bonn today why Germany had been chosen as the location for his first trip abroad. Germany is the only NATO country where there are Soviet troops. Following the talks that have taken place, our minister has no reason to be worried about the conditions of their stay and withdrawal. Shaposhnikov's German counterpart, Stoltenberg, has declared that the German-financed construction of housing for servicemen is already under way in six inhabited localities in the Soviet Union. By the end of the year, 2,000 apartments out of an overall total of 36,000 will be ready.

But what will happen after our troops have left? Germany is promising to give us support in all matters relating to the functioning of a modern army in a democratic state. A program for the intensive exchange of experience and contacts has been drawn up.

[Shaposhnikov] [Video shows Kondratyev interviewing Shaposhnikov] In general, it occurs to me that, if we today find an opportunity to acquaint our lieutenants or cadets—Russians with Germans, and Germans with Russians—and to train them together, then, when they become defense ministers, when they reach great heights, they will have even greater trust.

[Kondratyev] One of the most difficult problems in our relations is the question of compensation for the property and facilities left behind by the Soviet Western Group of Forces on the territory of the former GDR. Was that subject broached by our side?

[Shaposhnikov] The subject was broached. We are finding a solution. I think that, during the visit by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, he can, in general, dot all the i's, especially since we have prepared a good basis for that matter.

[Kondratyev] In other words, you mean that the Germans are moving toward a compromise on this issue?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course. Yes.

[Kondratyev] I can't remember when previously a defense minister here assessed the atmosphere of a dialogue with the Soviet military as very good. To all appearances, Shaposhnikov has made a highly favorable impression on the Germans. Tomorrow he is to make a tour of inspection to the Western Group of Forces.

Visits Luftwaffe Squadron

LD1211184791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn, 12 Nov (TASS)—Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister and Marshal of Aviation, who is in Germany on an official visit, today visited the 31st fighter-bomber squadron at Noervenich near Cologne. The Soviet guest familiarized himself with military equipment, the teaching and material base, and the daily life of the German military flyers.

On the same day Ye.Shaposhnikov visited the Bundeswehr command academy in Hamburg. The minister delivered a report to the professorial-teaching staff and students of the academy on Soviet military policy in the present day and its influence on security and cooperation in Europe.

Tomorrow the USSR and German defense ministers will visit one of the motor rifle regiments of the Western group of forces and meet the personnel of the unit.

German Embassy Official on Visit

OW1311043891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The FRG highly values the fact that USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's first official visit abroad was to Germany. A statement to that effect was made in Moscow on Tuesday [12 November] by the German Embassy's press secretary who was replying to a question from IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter.

The German diplomat said by exchanging their visits the defense ministers of the two countries, which until recently belonged to two confronting military blocs, vividly showed that the world had undergone sweeping changes. As an example of positive change the press secretary cited Mr. Shaposhnikov's planned meetings with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and joint trips by the Soviet and German Defense Ministers to a Bundeswehr unit and a unit of the Soviet Union's Western Group of troops.

The German Embassy's representative welcomed the fact that the visit had been prepared with due regard for the differences existing between the two countries, and described it as testifying to the beginning of a new kind of relation between Eastern and Western nations and their armed forces.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cubans Visit Hospitalized Soviet Veterans

PM1111145591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent N. Paska report: "A Friend in Need Is a Friend Indeed"]

[Text] Havana, 6 Nov—Soviet internationalist servicemen who were wounded and maimed in the Afghanistan war and who are undergoing a course of treatment in Cuba were visited by representatives of the supreme command of the republic's Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Divisional General Ulises Rosales del Toro, first vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and chief of the general staff; Colonel Rolando Alfonso Borges, chief of the main political directorate; and Colonel Miguel Barreiro, chief of a directorate of the Ministry of Revolutionary Armed Forces; were primarily interested in the state of health of the 34 Soviet Afghanistan veterans in the Frank Pais orthopedic hospital.

The Soviet internationalist servicemen's trip to Cuba was realized with the assistance of the Cuban Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of Peoples and the Commission for Afghanistan Veterans affiliated to the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. A total of 300 Afghanistan veterans have undergone a course of treatment and restorative therapy here.

Supreme Soviet

Soviet of Union Discusses 'Secret Accounts'

LD1211182291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Nikolay Zheleznov and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—The statement by Aleksandr Orlov, chairman of the audit chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that two secret accounts with a total sum of 51.9 billion rubles [R] had been discovered at the Union Ministry of Finances, was a sensation. He made this report at today's session of the Soviet of the Union, which had discussed the appeal by the USSR president to the parliament on the granting by the country's state bank of a credit to the Ministry of Finance amounting to R30 billion.

To the question by Deputy Vladimir Kirillov as to whether this "secret money" was intended for the needs of the CPSU, Viktor Gerashchenko replied that he "is almost certain that the activity of the CPSU was not financed from these sums." According to him, these accounts which never figured in budget operations were intended for various types of unforeseen situations and, in particular, the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters. The head of the State Bank explained the origin of these accounts which started back in 1939 as the accumulation of the budget residues of different years.

As noted by the chairman of the audit chamber, the USSR president did not know about this money either, only the ministers of finance knew about it. According to the chairman of the USSR State Bank, the "Politburo" "possibly" knew about it as well.

The report by Viktor Gubarev, chairman of the committee of the Soviet of the Union for budget and finances, in which a parliamentary analysis of the situation that had taken shape in the country in connection with the huge deficit in the state budget was the reason for such a stormy development of events. He proposed a draft decision to the deputies which would oblige the USSR president to discuss the issue of the R30 billion before 15 November at the same time as the draft emergency budget for November-December this year and to submit his proposals for examination by the Supreme Soviet. The session agreed with the conclusions of the parliamentary committees.

As far as the Ministry of Finance's "secret money" is concerned, for the moment its fate is suspended in the air: whether it should be channeled into clearing the budget deficit or purposefully be turned into support for farmers. These proposals were heard at the session. One thing is clear: the deputies will return to this issue again.

Finance Member Addresses Soviet of Union

LD1311050991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Soviet of the Republics, as the higher chamber of the Union parliament, which has to approve decisions made by the lower chamber, the Soviet of the Union, had to take a four-hour break in its work today because the lower chamber was examining the question of adopting a decision on a 30-billion-ruble credit to the USSR State Bank. [passage omitted]

Victor Andreyevich Gubarev, chairman of the Committee for Budget and Finance, was given the floor to speak on behalf of the Soviet of the Union. [passage omitted]

[Begin Gubarev recording] The main funds for clearing the enormous deficit of the Union budget and the extrabudgetary funds was the USSR State Bank working capital on loan in the form of the 93-billion-ruble credit requested by the USSR president and USSR Ministry of Finance, which were not officially registered by the USSR Supreme Soviet in accordance with the established order. This constitutes a violation by the USSR president, the USSR State Bank, and the USSR Ministry of Finance of the USSR laws on the USSR State Bank and the USSR budget for 1991.

In reality, the old practice of uncontrolled use of credit funds by the executive power to the detriment of the interests of society was being preserved. The budget deficit margins were repeatedly exeeded without introduction of any amendments into the law on the budget for 1991. With the approved figure of 26.700 billion rubles, the deficit at 21 October amounted to 89 billion rubles. According to Ministry of Finance estimates, it may amount to 153 billion by the end of the year. Together with the extrabudgetary funds, it may reach 205 billion rubles, including nearly 90 billion rubles just in the fourth quarter of this year.

The internal state debt is growing with catastrophic speed. This will amount to nearly 1 trillion rubles, which is almost twice as much as in the same period of 1990. In addition, in violation of the decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Ministry of Finance, the internal debt has not been officially registered in accordance with the established procedure. The need for it to be shared between the republics creates further complications.

Over nine months of 1991 the sum of money issued has reached about 70 billion rubles, and about 13 billion rubles in October 1991. The fact that today the Gosznak factories produce banknotes with defects shows that while these factories are working on a three-shift basis, they still do have not have enough time to print money, which is absolutely not secured.

By the start of 1991 the available bulk of money in the country amounted to about 136 billion rubles, but by the end of the year it was 250 to 260 billion rubles, almost

double. The population's deposits may reach 625 to 630 billion rubles by the end of this year. The balances of enterprises' means amount to about 240 billion rubles. The spare balances of local soviets amount to about 80 billion rubles. The experience of countries with a developed market economy shows that such inflationary policy may have a short-term advantage in the form of artificial stimulation of employment or production, but in the near future, especially in our situation, it has an extremely destructive character. Everybody should bear this in mind.

The enormous pressure of the monetary mass that I have mentioned on the consumer market is increasing. The purchasing power of a single monetary unit is sharply dwindling. Today the goods value of the ruble amounts to about 12 kopeks compared to 1961. One should take into account that the requested credit of 30 billion rubles will satisfy the needs of financing the expenditure for this October only. At the same time, the USSR Ministry of Finances' calculations show that this November and December much greater sums, which we do not have, will be required to finance the expenses approved in the Union budget. We will have to solve the issue of giving credits exceeding the requested sum more than twice, especially as the sums of credits will not be returned by the end of the year. This is already obvious. To write that they will be returned before 31 December is at least irresponsible. They will be carried forward to increase the internal state debt, something I have already mentioned. This will aggravate our country's economic situation even more. Therefore, the USSR president's proposal to examine the issue of 30 billion rubles in credits on its own, separately from the problems I have briefly outlined for you, which demand an immediate solution, is more than strange. The problems cannot be solved by the USSR Supreme Soviet without their prior detailed examination and the introduction of relevant amendments into the USSR law on the 1991 budget. One should remember that this situation was obvious as early as the beginning of this year. During all that time no vigorous measures have been taken by executive bodies of power in order to avert this situation. A thoughtless and irresponsible decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet, if it follows, on approving the requested credits will doom the executive bodies of power to further inaction, but this time the entire responsibility will rest with the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The fact that today, after a month, we cannot get an extraordinary budget submitted and immediately examined is absolutely incomprehensible to me. The USSR Supreme Soviet simply has no right to pretend that it is only a question of 30 billion rubles. [end recording]

Viktor Andreyevich believes, in the situation that has taken shape, the immediate tabling of an extraordinary budget for the fourth quarter of this year and solving the entire complex of problems is the only correct decision, something which could become a program for real actions aimed at defusing a dangerous situation and a basis for bringing together all the differences that still remain between republics.

Further on State Bank Credits

LD1211150791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1230 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina on the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] A very complicated issue—the USSR State Bank granting a R [ruble] 30 billion credit to the USSR Finance Ministry to finance the budget deficit—is being examined here in the Kremlin today at the sitting of the country's Supreme Soviet. As specialists have explained to me, they needed to give the OK for printing empty money. A sitting of the Soviet of the Union has just been held on this matter and the Soviet of the Union did not give the OK. A sitting of the Soviet of the Republics, the upper chamber, begins at 1600.

With me at the microphone now is Viktor Andreyevich Gubarev, chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee. Let me just say that the discussion was very dramatic and very acute issues came up concerning our financial state of affairs, in general. What can you tell us now about this issue? Why was such a decision made? What do we need to do now to bring order to the country's finances?

[Gubarev] In brief, the fact of the matter is that the old scheme of things continues, whereby executive authorities make totally uncontrolled use of credits from the USSR State Bank to the detriment of the interests of society—let's put it plainly. Given the very complex situation that was already known at the start of the year, the country's executive authorities did not take any specific steps to eliminate this situation somehow or to mollify it or to carry out a series of measures which would prevent disruption of the money supply and devaluation of the ruble. You see, what is happening today...[changes thought] The unrestrained growth of prices, ever more twists of the inflationary spiral that are impoverishing millions of our citizens...

[Semina, interrupting] Money isn't worth anything.

[Gubarev] Money isn't worth anything. The population has totally lost faith in such money and this is the result of the unprofessional, inconsistent policy of the representatives of executive authority. The fact that the president of the country has today asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to approve his request for the USSR State Bank to grant the USSR Finance Ministry a credit totalling R30 billion means, in fact, the printing of even more empty money, backed by nothing.

[Semina] That is just for October.

[Gubarev] That is just for October. When we did the sums, it turned out that such credits, with nothing to back them up, would have to be granted in November

and December, totalling more than twice the sums requested. In addition to this, we have discovered that such credits have already been granted to the Finance Ministry by the State Bank, according to decisions by the president, without formal consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet and have been spent without supervision. Naturally, in such a situation the USSR Supreme Soviet, setting out all the complications of such a problem, has adopted a firm decision that this credit should not be approved and that an emergency budget for the fourth quarter of this year should be presented as a matter of urgency, making possible a comprehensive examination of all the problems connected with financing the Army and our other structures and, most importantly, bringing to book all those guilty today of having done things which have led to the total disruption of money supply and to inflationary price rises.

[Semina] The double accounting which was reported on by Deputy Alkesandr Kondratyevich Orlov, (?chairman) of the audit chamber [kontrolnaya palata], deserves particular attention. He said that accounts had been uncovered which were not allowed for [as heard] anywhere and had not been presented to the Supreme Soviet, totalling almost another R52 billion.

[Gubarev] We have always understood that the executive authorities—and the Finance Ministry is, so to speak, a vehicle for the ideas of the executive authorities—have always presented us with information which, to put it mildly, had to be checked thoroughly, that is we realized that we were being deceived. It is precisely our budget and finance committee that came out with the initiative at the USSR Supreme Soviet to form a USSR Supreme Soviet audit chamber. Such a chamber has been formed for the first time and for the first time in our country it has started monitoring the executive authorities on matters of spending of our society's funds. Comrade Orlov today reported on the existence of secret accounts or, at any rate, ones of which the USSR Supreme Soviet had no knowledge, and which were at the uncontrolled disposal of the Finance Ministry. In essence, that is a crime because immense sums of money have been concealed from the country's supreme legislative authority. This alone requires today that the culprits be brought to book and this is a result of the formation of the audit chamber and of its making itself felt in a positive way. We hope to cooperate with (?such) a chamber in future and I think that in the final analysis we will institute order. Finally, for the first time in 74 years, we call for all those who have brought our people into its present state to be made liable.

Participants Discuss Committee Structures

LD1311051591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has been working today. In the morning the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of the Union discussed the structure of the committees, whose chairmen were outlining their programs. The sphere of competence of the new Supreme Soviet elected for the transitional period was clarified. chairman of the committee for security and defense in the Soviet of the Republic has outlined five areas for this committee. These are military reform, organization of the KGB bodies, border issues since three republics have already practically opened their borders and emigrees without the proper documents are pouring into the country, creation of UN-style troops to deal with interethnic conflicts, and conversion of the military-industrial complex.

Observer Assesses Costs of Activities, Budget

PM0711160491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Parliamentary observer S. Chugayev article: "Union Parliament Will Cost Us 222 Million Rubles This Year"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Strange as it may seem, the notable narrowing of the USSR Supreme Soviet's sphere of activity has not affected its apparatus. The Union parliament's secretariat is still as large as it was, and the parliament budget remains unchanged.

As has already been mentioned, the last Soviet of the Republics session was held in camera. It discussed reform of the secretariat. The essence of the operation is quite simple: dividing the apparatus between two chambers. So we can only guess at what prompted the deputies to keep such a routine matter secret. Only one answer suggests itself: The session must have heard figures on how much it costs Soviet taxpayers to maintain the Union corps of deputies, its apparatus, and other services. By all appearances, members of the Soviet of the Republics did not want to make this information public.

If this assumption is correct, the attempt was in vain. Before the morning session of the Soviet of the Union began on 4 November deputies were handed copies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat's spending estimates for 1991. Journalists have managed to familiarize themselves with this document. The figures are impressive. For instance, this year it will cost us 22.54 million rubles [R] to maintain central Soviet institutions. Spending on convening congresses, sessions, and sittings of parliamentary standing committees and commissions will run to more than R65 million. Moreover, there is also the expenditure on providing for the activity of USSR people's deputies. This too is a considerable sum—R50 million. Against this background the upkeep of the Constitutional Oversight Committee looks more than modest—just R3,672,000. In general the Union parliament will this year cost us R222,679,000.

Is that a lot or not? It is a modest figure compared with the United States, where the upkeep of Congress in, say, 1988 cost the U.S. taxpayer almost $2 billion. As a member of the Soviet of the Republics put it, it would be as stupid to economize on parliament as it would be to save money on culture. And, of course, he is right. But

only if we are talking about real parliamentary activity. The U.S. Congress—a well-oiled lawmaking mechanism—probably completely repays the billions annually invested in it by regulating all aspects of life in the country. As for our parliament, only a handful of the hundreds of laws of which A. Lukyanov was so proud have yet been implemented. The USSR Supreme Soviet has turned from the country's supreme legislative organ into a supremely representative body—the Union does still exist, albeit in truncated form. There is hope that a new Union state formation will emerge. That is now its main value.

Having observed the work of the renewed parliament for two weeks, I can say that its intellectual potential is relatively high and the overwhelming majority of deputies are totally willing to work. But over these two weeks no answer has been found to the main question: Just what can and should the USSR Supreme Soviet do after it has assembled, set up committees, and distributed jobs? If the answer is not forthcoming in the very near future, all this R222 million or so may have to be written off as "losses." And it is quite likely that next year it will not be possible to find people willing to finance this lossmaking enterprise.

Political & Social

Gorbachev To Resign if Treaty Not Signed

OW1311124891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gen. Sergey Stepashin, a RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy, has said in an exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX] that President Mikhail Gorbachev believes the new Union treaty may be signed in December. If it is not signed, he will resign from his post, Gorbachev said on Tuesday [12 November] to members of the USSR State Commission investigating the KGB performance during the August coup.

Mr. Stepashin, who is head of the commission, said the president had been shown documents revealing the active involvement of top KGB officials, among them Kryuchkov and his aides Ageyev and Grushko, in the putsch. The commission gathered sufficient evidence that the KGB had long since grown into a superstructure over the state government bodies. KGB agents had eavesdropped on the telephone conversations of not only parliamentarians but also top government officials. According to Stepashin, President Gorbachev "was apparently shocked to learn that the recent situation had had much in common with that of the 1930s. Anyway, he was persuaded of that."

Gen. Stepashin said there was a decision to prolong the term of his commission's work until the end of the transitional period and to include republican representatives in it. President Gorbachev had agreed that no hasty steps should be taken to form an inter- republican security committee. All financial and other matters related to its formation could be settled no sooner than all the republics that have signed the Treaty of Economic Community expressed their views on the subject.

Gorbachev News Conference on Coup, Aftermath

New Book Discussed

LD1211214991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1935 GMT 12 Nov 91

[News conference by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev with foreign and domestic correspondents in the Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow on 12 November—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Esteemed friends, this is a small book. I would not even call it a book. Those who have seen it no doubt understood at once that it mainly describes my assessment of what happened during the period 19-21 August and my participation in the activities aimed at normalizing the situation immediately following the failure of the putsch. In short, it generally is about lessons and conclusions that I have drawn for myself and, I hope, for every one of us.

The book, almost half the book—this is the book [holds book up]—is taken from the article I wrote in Foros. The idea of writing it occurred to me on 4 August, the day I arrived there in Foros, while I was unpacking the literature that I had taken to read. I found a brochure that I first skimmed through quickly and then reread. That set me thinking. It was about October 1917, about how this event should be assessed, whether it should be assessed as a very great event or a catastrophe. At once I transposed the events on to the plane of what was going on during the six years of perestroyka. What is it—a great event or a catastrophe as it is described in the press? Or is it both? That was the dramatic way in which I formulated the question.

What guided me to have this book published as soon as possible, without postponing it? One single desire: to pass on to society my main idea of the need for coordinated actions, quick actions on the part of all democratic forces in that dramatic situation that arose, in the situation in which all of us, the whole country, and with us the whole world, found ourselves following the August putsch. And of course, I was prompted by our common responsibility for that enormous cause which we are trying to carry out in this enormous country of ours. In my current assessment, this idea has not lost its significance today. I should even say that it has become even more topical.

In general, having looked into the abyss—into that abyss into which all of our democratic achievements could have been thrown—we sensed the complete scale of the catastrophe which loomed over us and it must be said

that during the first days and weeks after the putsch we acted resolutely and dynamically and, all the same, to a great extent, harmoniously. But as soon as the immediate danger retreated—I do not know if that is just us, it seems that it runs in our genes—we once again weakened and got involved in defining relationships once again. A sort of tug-of-war began, and in general one can say that there began a sort of dividing up of everything.

In brief, we did not make the best use of the opportunity that arose following the defeat of the coup. Responsibility for this lies with all the politicians, all the current politicians. And in this connection, I think that what is said in the book about the crucial nature of the moment and of every step which we take now has not lost its significance.

In the book I talk once again about the salutary importance of the notions of unity, consensus, and cooperation, about the vital need for a kind of historical compromise, and for social and interethnic peace. I think that the days that followed, immediately after the putsch and once the book had been submitted to the publishers, that all that time confirms this idea yet again and provided much evidence that attempts to build politics on confrontation make the situation in the country still more difficult and, in general, tangle all the problems into a tight knot which is not so easy to unravel, even through joint efforts.

As you are aware, you cannot create a consensus in society just by casting spells. To do so, you need appropriate policies or amendments to policies that have been implemented and concrete steps to put these policies into effect. Most importantly, a policy is required that will take into account the many varied interests of all sectors of our society, the transformation of the old sectors and the formation of new ones and their interests. This process has already begun and must be encouraged in every way.

I was further convinced of this when I spoke recently to representatives of the Workers' Congress. What did the workers talk to me about? They are in favor of reform. They are prepared to work alongside and cooperate with cooperative workers and other representatives of business circles, but on one condition. They are prepared to support small-scale privatization but on condition that they, the workers at vast state enterprises, will not be left on the sidelines, as they have been to date.

They even said that everything that happened on 19 and 20 August was, as they put it, chicken feed compared with what would happen if the workers are kept out of the reforms, if via destatization and commercialization they are not included in market relations and are not given the opportunity to dispose of their products and profits then they will not understand all the other steps. And, thus, the incentives and measures should embrace all strata of our society.

I think that, in the first instance, this policy and these steps should take into account and implement the interests of our peasantry. I would like to stress this because in our country many exhortations have been made on this matter, too. But as yet we have not moved our land reform onto a level which would make it possible for the peasant for the first time in the whole of our history, in all our decades, to dispose of things as he sees fit—both to be master on the land and to dispose of the results of his labor. And by the way, it will be most difficult to do this because we, above all, always want to retain control of foodstuffs. And that is how things still stand. And we see that this year we are in exactly the same position as Stalin was in 1928. There is produce—at least some produce, not all types, some are simply lacking, but some produce does exist—but even that which does exist we cannot get hold of because we do not have normal relations with the peasantry.

We do not have normal relations between the sectors of the economy; we do not have normal relations between town and countryside.

I think that we should give state support to the new strata of the economy: the entrepreneurs, members of cooperatives, businessmen, bankers, and, in the first instance, the private farmers. Without this, no agreement, trust, or cooperation will spring up, no matter how many wise, convincing, and powerful words are uttered on this subject. What are needed are real steps which would include the interests and would express the interests of all these strata. Then a different situation will arise; then everyone will have a sense of his role.

The August putsch wrecked the signing of the treaty on the Union of sovereign states, and this struck a powerful and severe blow to the whole process of reforms. It has been possible to do something to avoid being in a state of total chaos. But the position, the situation, remains difficult and dangerous. The disintegration of the state has reached a dangerous level. It is accompanied by the destruction of the market, of economic links, scientific and cultural cooperation, and by a deep deformation of human relations.

Attempts are being made to destroy the strategic defense space and the united Armed Forces. The same may be said about foreign policy.

This is disastrous for the country and also arouses immense alarm both in society and in the world community inasmuch as this country—when we talk of this—its foreign policy, and of the Union in general, is one of the major buttresses of the contemporary world. The fact that both theoreticians and politicians of separatism and isolationism, opponents of the Union, will in the final analysis be disgraced—on this score I have never had any doubt, nor do I have any now, though I think that many people have already resigned themselves to it and are painting a dismal picture.

I am worried about something else: that as long as this goes on society will have to pay dearly, and indeed as a

matter of fact is already paying this price, paying this price. Well then, such an approach is unacceptable, that we—all those who are worried about the destiny of the state, and of the country and people—should wait for life itself to put everything in its place. That is why it is necessary to act, especially as our people in all republics, fortunately, are freeing themselves of dangerous illusions and are presenting politicians with the bill. The latest polls in various regions of the country confirm this, even in those regions that in our discussions about the future of the Union have in a way already been placed outside the framework of this Union. We need a union of sovereign states—not some day, but now—as the main prerequisite for agreement in society. Without this, success is unthinkable both in the implementation of economic reforms and in all democratic transformations. The disintegration of the state is tearing up the market and is severing economic ties, human relations, scientific and technical cooperation, everything.

This is a most important, principal precondition. The day after tomorrow we will be discussing the draft of the Union treaty. We will gather once more in Novo-Ogarevo. I hope that this process will go ahead. I am convinced. Because the pressure for union is coming from the depths of society. No one can ignore it; no one will be able to ignore it.

The other thing is that we cannot waste time. During the putsch and after it we realized the true value of new relations with foreign countries. In those days, and I write about this in the book, I underlined more than once that the defeat of the putsch was determined by those new realities that had arisen as a result of the democratic changes in the country, as well as by the support, the solidarity with our country shown by the governments and peoples. The last few weeks have demonstrated to us many times that this support is widening and is acquiring new qualities. A lot has changed in our relations with the countries of the G-7, of the EC, and other countries. We have become participants in large international economic, financial bodies, and so on.

The situation really is such that we have an enormous opportunity to accelerate the transformations. But dangers have not diminished either, and in certain instances we can even say that they are increasing. It seems to me that today the art of politics must be to ensure that we do not allow ourselves to lose this unique opportunity through our practical steps, from the perspective of both the internal and external development of the country. I talk once more in the book about the life-saving importance of the idea of unity, agreement, cooperation, about the vital necessity of a kind of historical compromise. I said so at the beginning of my speech, and I want to end on this theme as well. I would like the reading of this book, and what I wanted to convey, to consist of two main points, there are enormous lessons for all of us in those three days. But first of all the main lesson: in finding, by overcoming all the ideological obstacles and various adherences, by overcoming them, to come to the idea of the all-nation agreement and cooperation.

[Unidentified moderator] Now we will go on to the news conference.

[ANSA correspondent] Italian agency ANSA. Mr. President, how do you assess the current situation in the Russian Federation in light of the latest developments in Chechen-Ingush, and how do you see Boris Yeltsin's political influence? What is his situation now? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] It is easier to answer the second part of the question. He is in the same situation as all of us. And, in my view, this seems to be the best approach to answering the first part. This problem moved to the fore today because a confrontation fraught with dangerous consequences has emerged, and we all are anxious to find a way out of this situation, such a way that would take into account our common worries and would help to find a path toward cooperation and mutual understanding within the framework of our enormous main republic, a republic on which many things have always depended and will depend now and in the future. But I think that at some stage an impression took place among those who informed the Russian Federation's leadership—I am taking the liberty to claim, because I have tried to work in the most immediate manner with comrades from the Russian leadership over these past days, including with President Yeltsin, to claim that comrades were hasty with the conclusion that the political and constitutional framework of activity had been exhausted and, in my view, overestimated or, moreover, impermissibly overestimated the importance of force in settling this conflict, which is not simple, on the whole.

[Unidentified correspondent] Various analysts from the Soviet Union and abroad are saying that the August events and the events at the basis of the putsch have not changed. They can aggravate even now.

[Gorbachev] You are saying that the causes which led to the putsch remain. I think you are both right and wrong. You are right insofar as problems have not become any easier in the social sphere, in the market situation, people's employment, and therefore in the sphere of wages and earnings. That is what I said when answering the previous question. That is where the source of possible danger may lie and where a threat may come from. But you are wrong insofar as you have failed to notice and I think you may have ignored that as a result of the August putsch, reactionary forces have been seriously defeated.

[GUARDIAN correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] I am from the GUARDIAN newspaper. I have two questions on the putsch. You were placed under house arrest. But the plotters failed to arrest Boris Yeltsin. Many believe that that was the primary mistake. You must have thought about this? What is your view; why did they not arrest Mr. Yeltsin? My other question is this: They say that 50,000 people demonstrated near the White House in Moscow. Mr. Yeltsin called for a general strike, but most failed to

follow his call. Establishments continued working. However, the plotters brought the Army into the streets, and the Army was forced to take sides. Do you think the putsch could have lasted for several weeks, months, or perhaps years, if the Army had not been put out into the streets, if the confrontation had continued? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] [word indistinct] over these nuances. I could even add some more nuances to what you have said. But I will not arm future aspirants—if perhaps there are any—with my experience and knowledge. I think that everything would start going wrong for them almost immediately.

It is not for no reason that I am profoundly convinced that only, well, a paranoid person, a lunatic, could go in for a putsch, for something, for something extreme, for the simple reason that I am convinced that this is not a solution to the problem. This is already clear to any sensible person. Society is no longer the same; it will no longer take this path.

TASS Coverage of Questions

LD1211180791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—As expected, the first question which journalists asked Mikhail Gorbachev following the presentation of his new book, "The August Putsch: Causes and Consequences," referred not to the book itself but to the situation in and around Chechen-Ingush.

This problem, said the president, has come to the fore today because a confrontation fraught with dangerous consequences has arisen. We are all engaged in seeking a way out of the situation which will take into account our common concerns and will help find a path towards cooperation and mutual understanding.

The position of both the Union and the Russian Federation is that in dealing with all the issues which life presents us with, particularly when they relate to the revival or self-determination of peoples or to their new state structures, it must be done within a constitutional framework and on the basis of political processes.

At some stage, suggested Mikhail Gorbachev, our comrades came to the hasty conclusion that the political and constitutional frameworks for action had been exhausted and they overestimated—in my view to an inadmissible extent—the importance of force in resolving this complex conflict. Now it seems that, following discussions at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, a new phase in untangling this tightly drawn knot is beginning. The Russians have returned to their original and correct stance which falls within the framework of the constitutional process and is based on dialogue and respect for opinions. I am convinced that the right choice must be made, particularly when the desire to do so exists on both sides, said the president.

Answering another question, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about new, previously unknown factors connected with the history of the putsch. On the eve of the departure for Foros, he said, there was a conversation in which steps were outlined for a regrouping of forces after the signing of the Union treaty. In all probability the conversation was recorded, and those who did not see themselves or did not find a place in the new structures began to act. That may be why the confrontation moved rapidly into its acute phase, the president thinks.

What problems preoccupy the president today? The most important thing now, he said, is to correctly calculate the steps along the road of reform and the order in which they should be taken. This means, above all, stimulating the freedom of producers, increasing the output of goods, and enhancing the monitoring of finances rather than freeing prices. If actions are taken in the opposite order, then the collapse of the transformations may give rise to situations in which forces of a non-perestroyka nature appear.

Turning to the work on the Union political treaty, Mikhail Gorbachev said amendments to the latest draft had been submitted by the republics. There were fewer from Russia, he noted, and more from Kazakhstan. The new document deals with a profound redistribution of the powers of the center and the republics; a completely new Union; a single, agreed foreign policy; unified Armed Forces; and a unified economic space. The new document takes into account the Novo-Ogarevo experience and the events of August, the president emphasized.

Answering a question on his relationship with the Russian president, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that he maintains daily working contacts with Boris Yeltsin. The times of confrontation have passed for good along with the August events, but the foundations for cooperation were laid much earlier, at the beginning of the Novo-Ogarevo process, he said. We have come to the profound realization that we should not allow the breakup of the democratic forces of the Union and Russia. That would be fatal. Such a situation would sweep away all of us, and we should not allow this to happen. We will not present such a gift to the reactionaries, stated the president.

At this moment it is evident that radicals on the extreme left and extreme right are joining forces in their criticism of both presidents. They incite and they sow the seeds of suspicion. We should think first about the future of our country, which is living through perhaps the most difficult period in its history, concluded Mikhail Gorbachev.

Remarks on Book Royalties

LD1211191891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1718 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Viktor Runov, Sergey Staroselskiy, and Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—Answering a question about the royalties, Mikhail Gorbachev indicated

that he had received some $3 million for the first book and had not spent a single cent on personal needs. As for the royalties for the new book, I think I will find a proper way to make use of them, the president concluded.

Further on Royalties

LD1211204991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Gorbachev regrets that possibilities were lost after the putsch and hopes for the renewal of the Novo-Ogarevo process, INTERFAX reports.

Today at a news conference on the occasion of launching his book about the August putsch Mikhail Gorbachev expressed regret that possibilities were lost in the subsequent period. We used the chance the country had after the putsch not in the best way, he said. Attempts to base the policy on mere confrontation only aggravate the problem.

Mikhail Gorbachev also reported that he will hand over a portion of his royalties to the fund of the Communist Party. [as heard]

Answering a question on who could have prevented the August putsch, he said that if Lukyanov and Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had taken the measures which they could have taken, the putsch would have been foiled at the very beginning. However, he noted, they did not do that.

Further Remarks on Coup

OW1311000991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday [12 November] devoted to his newly-published book about the August putsch, Mikhail Gorbachev said he regretted the opportunities lost in the subsequent period. "We could have made much better use of the chance which the country had after the putsch," he said. "Attempts to put politics on the footing of confrontation only aggravate the situation," he added. [passage omitted]

Asked who could have prevented the August putsch, Mr. Gorbachev said that if Lukyanov and Deputy-General Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee Ivashko had taken the measures they could have taken, the putsch would have been nipped in the bud.

Warning of Possible Power Shift to Military

LD1311094191 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA today publishes an article warning that power can shift to the military as [words indistinct] the present economic situation. This may happen even against the [word indistinct] of the military as it will [word indistinct] principally impossible to preserve any degree of control in the country without the army. To avoid dictatorship, the author calls Democrats to start a dialogue with the defeated Communists and initiate a people's united front against autocracy and fascism.

TRUD reminds its readers of the lessons of 1917 in an article by a complex systems analysis expert. Describing the shift of power under the influence of hyperinflation in Russia, the author stands for immediate introduction of Russian currency to avoid another revolution.

Union Council Approves Extension of Credit

OW1211223091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 4"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union has approved the draft resolution on extending a 30-billion [ruble] credit to the USSR Ministry of Finance for covering budget spending for October 1991. There are plans to discuss the credit and, simultaneously, the extraordinary budget for October - December, 1991, and recommend that on November 15, the USSR President submit the question of extraordinary budget to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Chairman of the Council of the Union's Committee for Budget and Finances, Viktor Gubarev, said that the extention of the 30-billion [ruble] credit to the Ministry of Finance would entail "destructive consequences" and would be an instance of "thoughtlessness and irresponsibility".

Mr. Gubarev also demanded that the persons responsible for destabilzing the monetary circulation in the USSR be called to account.

Chairman of the USSR Control Chamber, Aleksandr Orlov, said that in October the budget deficit stood at 34.8 billion roubles He also said that in his estimate in November and December the budget deficit will increase to 90-91 billion roubles, not counting the 21 billion roubles which must cover the spending over the previous months.

Mr. Orlov said that all this may impel the USSR president to ask the Supreme Soviet for extending another credit of 68-73 billion roubles to the Ministry of Finance.

He said that the inspection of the budget over the past nine month revealed to [two] "secret accounts" of which the Supreme Soviet had not been informed. From January 1, 1991 to this day the worth of those accounts has diminished from 51.9 billion to 45.5 billion roubles. Mr. Orlov described them as the documents of the USSR Ministry of Finance and State Bank.

Chairman of the USSR State Bank, Viktor Gerashchenko said that on those accounts there were left-overs of the previous years' budget. These accounts are not

secret, he said. The USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Politburo knew about them, he added.

Interrepublican Economic Cooperation Approved

OW1211185091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 November], in Minsk, chairman of the Supreme Council of Belarus, Stanislav Shushkevich, and president of Azerbaiian, Ayaz Mutalibov, signed a treaty on inter-republican economic cooperation.

The two republics will broaden the contacts already established on the basis of mutual interest and with due account taken of the current economic problems in these republics.

Nina Andreyeva Heads New Bolshevik Party

Manifesto Circulated

LD1211183791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism. Such is the opening phrase of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, assiduously studied by more than one generation of Soviet people. But evidently the message did not get through. And experience shows that this teaching never did prove true and hence, according to the logic of those who laid down the principles, it is not all-powerful, either. Evidently it is this circumstance that compelled supporters of the not unfamiliar Nina Andreyeva, the Bolshevik Leninists, to make their own amendments and having manifested their collective reason, as is their habit, to come back to life with a new manifesto. Our St. Petersburg correspondent has the details:

[Unidentified correspondent] On 12 November, the organizing committee of the founding congress of the All-Union Communist Party, Bolshevik [Vsesoyuznaya Kommunisticheskaya Partiya, Bolshevikov—VKPB] distributed the party's manifesto, endorsed by the delegates to the founding forum held in St. Petersburg on 7-8 November. The manifesto proclaims the founding of the VKPB as the true heir to the cause of Lenin and as the party that will continue it on the contemporary stage. The manifesto also declares the party's adherence to the idea of implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat in all spheres of social life.

The founding congress of this party was convened at the initiative of the leaders of the Bolshevik platform in the CPSU and took place in conspiratorial fashion at one of the palaces of culture in a suburb of St. Petersburg. Taking part in the congress were about 150 delegates from orthodox communist groups in eight former Soviet republics. The congress worked out a program and charter and elected a party central committee of 15 secretaries.

Nina Andreyeva, former leader of the Society for Leninism and Communist Ideals, became general secretary of the VKPB. The leader of the VKPB told a Radio Rossii correspondent in an interview that the party's leadership intends to legalize the party and its local committees by December. According to Nina Andreyeva, the VKPB will lay claim to the assets of the former CPSU and will embark on a campaign to persuade Communists to join the ranks of the VKPB. According to Andreyeva, the party already has more than 15,000 members, and its central committee predicts that membership will increase to 100,000 in the next three months.

Nina Andreyeva also said that the VKPB will take part in all parliamentary elections to be held in the USSR, in order, and I quote, to put an end to the bourgeois political bacchanalia. Viewing the political situation in Russia and the country, Nina Andreyeva emphasized that the sale and bourgeois privatization of housing, land, and production facilities is becoming the dominating political factor. The neo-exploiter class is striving to erase the principle of social justice in people's awareness, Andreyeva observed, and pointed out that the working people should oust, I quote, opportunist mayors and presidents and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Nina Andreyeva asserted that beacuse it upholds the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the VKPB alone will be able to preserve the people from the ruin of the socialist order. All other post-communist forces, including Aleksandr Rutskoy's party, in Andreyeva's view, are charlatans. Nina Andreyeva is convinced that the VKPB will be able to launch a very broad Bolshevik campaign as early as January. And therein lies our salvation, she adds.

Party Issues Manifesto

OW1211184491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 November], the organizing committee of the constituent congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) circulated a manifesto, confirmed by the delegates of the constituent forum, held by the Bolsheviks in St. Petersburg on November 7 and 8.

The manifesto proclaims this party to be the "genuine successor of Lenin's cause at the present stage". The manifesto also proclaims the party's adherence to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party's constituent congress was convened on the initiative of the leaders of the Communist Party's Bolshevik platform and was held secretly in a cultural centre not far from St. Petersburg. It was attended by about 150 delegates representing orthodox communist groupings from 8 former Soviet republics. The congress drafted the party's rules and programme, and elected its central committee consisting of 15 secretaries.

Nina Andreyeva, the former leader of the society "For Leninism and Communist Ideals" was elected the party's Secretary-General.

Mrs. Andreyeva told IF [INTERFAX] that the leadership would work for legalizing the party and its local committees, and that the party would claim to be the heir of the property once owned by the Soviet Communist Party. She said that her party's membership already exceeded 15,000 and that the Central Committee expected it to increase to 100,000 within the next three months.

Nina Andreyeva stated that the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) would take part in all parliamentary elections "to put an end to bourgeois political outrages".

Aims Outlined

PM2111035891 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Molokov under the "Parties, Movements" rubric: "Called Themselves Bolsheviks"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—Those who badgered N. Andreyeva, author of the letter to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, could hardly have assumed that less than a year later people who in one way or another share the positions set forth in that article would unite in the all-Union movement "Unity for Leninism and Communist Ideals" and then, a couple of years later, create their own party of Bolsheviks.

The constituent congress of the first of the many communist parties being formed on the CPSU's foundations was held 8 November. It was held in the outskirts of St. Petersburg, without pomp or any outward "historic" or "fateful" significance. It was attended by 164 delegates representing 18 Russian oblasts, the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic region, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. Moscow and St. Petersburg sent the largest delegations. Unlike the previous "Unity" conferences, the congress was distinguished by an extremely businesslike mood. There was none of the usual verbosity and "revolutionary" speeches. There was a constructive and strictly to-the-point discussion of the statutes and program submitted to the congress. The polemic intensified somewhat only over the question of what to call the party that was being created. In the end, an overwhelming majority of votes confirmed the name "All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks."

According to the statutes, the VKPB [All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks] expresses and defends the interests of the working class, the working peasantry, and the intelligentsia committed to the idea of building Socialism and Communism, to the restoration and preservation of the USSR, and to the strengthening of its state integrity. The VKPB has proclaimed as its program aims: In the socioeconomic sphere—the restoration of the supremacy of socialist ownership, of the state monopoly of foreign trade, and of the working people's social rights guaranteed by the 1977 Constitution; the renewal of the planned system of the economy on a modern scientific level; the ending of the forcible decollectivization of the countryside... In the sphere of politics and ideology—the restoration of the Soviet state fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the organ of power of the working class and expressing and defending the working people's fundamental interests. The VKPB proclaims itself a party in opposition to the present regime. It regards as its chief foreign policy task the restoration of the country's integrity, the strengthening of its national sovereignty, and its transformation into a great world power.

N.A. Andreyeva was elected general secretary of the VKPB in an open ballot with several abstentions. A Central Committee comprising 15 members and four candidate members was also elected. It was tasked with conducting organizational and propaganda work and, above all, ensuring the formal procedure—the new party's registration with judicial organs. The reality of life is such that a left-wing radical party has emerged into the contemporary political arena. Will it have a future, will it become a serious political force? Time will tell.

Official Views Communist Party Disintegration

AU1211151191 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 12 Nov 91 p 14

[Interview with Valentin Falin, Soviet German policy expert and former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by Hans-Peter Riese and Uwe Engelbrecht, in his dacha outside Moscow; date not given: "The Communist Party Devoured Itself"]

[Excerpts] [Riese] Mr. Falin, we are meeting you outside Moscow, in a dacha, a small country house. You no longer have a function now. Your last function was as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. One could almost say that you were a lifelong party functionary. You carried out several functions, including that of ambassador to the FRG. Looking today at the developments in your country and in Eastern Europe, do you feel that you are facing the ruins of your political life?

[Falin] First of all, Mr. Riese, I would like to make a slight correction. Until 10 November, I will be the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which has not been dissolved and has not formally

ceased to exist. Today my task is to help my colleagues create new living conditions for themselves. [passage omitted]

Now I will come to your question about my present feelings. Of course, I cannot feel joy and say that my life's work has been successful in a specific philosophical sense. However, if I partially assess my activities, let us say that in my work to solve the German question and to establish a stable, better peace in Europe—I would do the same today as I did before. It goes without saying that minor details would probably be different and several adjustments would be made. But I would say that I did my best for the Germans to achieve real peace in times of peace. [passage omitted]

[Riese] Mr. Falin, at the beginning of our talk, you pointed out that the CPSU is not prohibited, on the other hand, I think that we agree that the system that was established by it has broken down. Do you expect something like a public charge against the CPSU in the course of developments and that it could be virtually brought to trial?

[Falin] At the moment I do not rule this out because the anticommunist wave is at its highest in the Soviet Union. However, whether this will result in society's democratization or whether we will achieve another form of totalitarianism in the end is another question, but extreme-right totalitarianism also exists. If we want to develop a rule-of-law state, a state where democracy is not only proclaimed, but also practiced, if we do not only talk about political culture, but also permit political culture to develop, patience and tolerance would be the prime necessity. We must not repeat what we experienced once in this country: That there is no peace, that everyone sees the other as an potential enemy and propagates new untruths instead of old untruths.

[Riese] Here in Moscow one can read so-called or actual revelations on the Central Committee and its departments almost every day. Many things are also imputed to your department, for example, the reproach that millions in funds were illicitly taken abroad; recently, I even read a report claiming that in your department a secret printing shop, a counterfeit printing shop, was found. Can you comment on these publications?

[Falin] I can only say the following: In my time when I worked in this department, no money was transferred; since the time when I became party secretary, not a single cent, pfennig, or centime has been transferred to parties or political persons. This is proven and therefore the Department of Public Prosecution says that there are no personal accusations against me. Regarding these reports on counterfeit money or whatever, I can only assume responsibility for the time when I was employed in this department. In my time, nothing to this effect happened. No counterfeit money, no forged documents, and so on, came from my department in my time.

When I was in charge of three departments, I had the job of completely revising the work, so that political work would really only be political work. And I did this very consistently. Therefore, if something is published that is not in line with this fact, it is defamation and revenge for my appearance in the Supreme Soviet with a protest against the illegal searching of my apartment and my house.

Yes, I know that at that time those who initiated this believed that they would not forgive me my protest declaration. We still live in a society where the law is written in minuscule letters and where political morals and political culture unfortunately are not mentioned as phenomena of the present and of reality.

[Riese] Mr. Falin, does the Communist Party not have to accept the reproach that it created these conditions?

[Falin] I would like to state the following: In the past two years, the Communist Party was not asked any domestic or foreign policy questions. All that happened in the field of foreign and domestic policies happened without a word from the Communist Party. The Communist Party was already excluded from this process. Thus, it is not responsible for the events of the past two years. And this contributed to the fact that the Communist Party devoured itself, it has fallen apart because without a daily practical occupation this enormous organization has no future.

Ligachev on Reforms, Putsch, Perestroyka

PM1011211091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Yegor Ligachev's Private Visit to the United States Has Begun"]

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, former member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has declared that he is by no means against reforms, is a resolutely opposed to Stalinism, and sincerely hopes that the program of economic transformations adopted by the Russian leadership will be successfully implemented. He delivered a lecture at the Harriman Institute for the study of long-term prospects of the Soviet Union at Columbia University in New York during his private visit to the United States at the invitation of a number of leading U.S. universities, TASS reports.

"I wish the Russian president success in the implementation of these reforms and I will be pleased if they are carried out successfully," he said in reply to a TASS correspondent's question. At the same time Ye. Ligachev believes that the shock liberalization of prices and privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises, essentially within six months, may result in a considerable exacerbation of all social contradictions. "I would add to these reforms measures for state regulation of prices for essential goods in people's consumption," he noted.

Speaking about the August attempted coup d'etat, he emphasized that he "categorically rejects the methods

and means for overcoming the crisis used by the putschists." At the same time, he declared, "I will never describe these people as traitors to the motherland. The putschists were seeking ways of easing people's lives."

As for perestroyka in the Soviet Union, it can be divided into two periods, in Ye. Ligachev's opinion: between approximately 1985 and 1988 "things were improving," while at the moment "we are living through very complex and difficult times."

Worker-Peasant Socialist Party Founded

PM1211141391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by Yu. Suslin under "In the Parties and Movements" rubric: "Workers and Peasants Unite"]

[Text] The founding congress of the Worker-Peasant Socialist Party [WPSP] has taken place in the "capital" of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha—the village of Kamenyuka in Kamenetskiy Rayon, Belarus. Forty-six delegates representing the Ukraine, Belarus, Moscow, St. Petersburg, a number of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] regions, and the Dnestr Moldavian SSR attended.

The congress adopted a program and statutes and elected leading organs.

The new party defined as its basic tasks the restoration in the country by nonviolent methods of the economic and political power of the working people, the restoration of the socialist planned economy, the maintenance and strengthening of the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system in the countryside, and the provision of inexpensive, high-quality goods for the market. The WPSP economic program rules out the existence of unemployment, a market in the means of production, speculative intermediary "cooperation," any form of private ownership, or exorbitant "free" prices.

In the political sphere it is intended to establish the sovereignty of the soviets of workers, peasants, and army deputies, to end ethnic discord, and to revive the USSR as a single multinational socialist state.

Newspaper on 'Remorseless Laws' of Economics

Cutbacks Force Changes

PM1211104991

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 11 November 1991 carries on page 1, above its masthead, an advertisement which reads "Shares in the All-Russian Stock-Exchange Bank Are a Guarantee of Your Success and a Symbol of Your Prosperity." This is accompanied, to the immediate right of the masthead, by a boxed editorial note which reads as follows:

"Today we carry a commercial advertisement in place of the headline to which readers are now accustomed. To be frank, it pains us as professionals to cede this space on the newspaper page. We have used it to announce key articles in the issue and the most important events of the day, and have carried some scoops there.

"But life today, based on principles of economic accountability, has its own remorseless laws. And to ensure PRAVDA's survival in the new conditions, the Editorial Office is engaging most vigorously in commercial activity. This policy also makes a contribution to our budget. Therefore, dear reader, we ask for your understanding and at the same time your forgiveness. We are parting with our ringing newspaper headlines until the New Year."

Others Praised for 'Solidarity'

PM1111142791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Thanks, Colleagues!"]

[Text] All newspapers seem to carry all manner of interpretations of what has been said in PRAVDA. You open KURANTY, IZVESTIYA, or MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS and everything is spelled out there...

There is one thing to say about this—Thanks! While the new authorities are blockading our newspaper—that is, depriving us of the right to publish an evening edition in favor of the current semiofficial organs, putting up barriers to subscription, and cutting PRAVDA's retail circulation—you are backing us! That's fine: Solidarity is solidarity. We thank you for bringing our words to your readers even with what is sometimes, regrettably, your clumsy interpretation.

With thanks for your support in hard times,

[Signed] PRAVDA staff.

'Alpha Group' Member Interviewed on Tactics

LD1111033891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1955 GMT on 9 November, in its "Top Secret" program hosted by Artem Borovik, carries an 8.5-minute interview by Pavel Lukyanchenko, captioned as a journalist from ARGUMENTY I FAKTI weekly, with a man whose face is concealed from the camera and whose voice is altered to conceal his identity. The man was a member of the "Alpha group," which the Western press dubbed a terrorist gang, according to the journalist. The interview takes place in a ruined building.

The man says that the group was deployed in Afghanistan to carry out raids to clear the territory of everything that was in its path. Clips of the interview with this man are followed by clips of an interview with Oleg Kalugin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy, on related topics. Kalugin is interviewed informally, seated beside the journalist. Kalugin says the tactic of clearing territory is not unusual.

The journalist asks further questions of the man, who says that the group clashed with Soviet units in Afghanistan, with loss of life on the part of the units. Kalugin recalls the words of Sakharov, who said that Soviet units killed their compatriots during raids in Afghanistan. Kalugin says he did not believe it then but now he believes that special KGB units would have been capable of such a thing. Kalugin says that "the present leadership of Afghanistan are all Kryuchkov proteges."

The journalist asks the man if the Alpha group and other groups like it were deployed anywhere else apart from Afghanistan. The man replies: "I think they were in Lithuania, at the television tower. There were also preparations in Moscow, near the Russian White House. Where else? They were in the Persian Gulf." He says he learned from comrades that they were sent there supposedly as instructors.

Kalugin says: "It is difficult for me to judge what their real role was. Probably it would be better to ask the United Nations about who took part in the war against Iraq. It is well acquainted with the direction of our cooperation with Saddam Husayn." He adds: "The fact is that our advisers were there. The fact is that they taught the Iraqis. The fact is that they trained them. There is no doubt about that." He then says: "Whether they were able to do anything during the conflict and whether they took direct part in that—well, the official position of our government is that there was no participation at all."

In conclusion, Kalugin says there is a need to clean up the KGB.

Failed Assassin Declared 'Mentally Incompetent'

LD1311020491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Aleksandr Shmonov, who made an attempt on the life of Mikhail Gorbachev during the November demonstration in Red Square last year, has been transported to St. Petersburg. As reported on Tuesday [12 November] by the press center of the city's health care administration, Shmonov has to undergo six months of compulsory psychiatric hospitalization in Skvortsov-Stepanov hospital in St. Petersburg.

The transfer was carried out soon after an expert commission of the Serbskiy Science-Research Institute in Moscow declared Aleksandr Shmonov mentally incompetent and criminal proceedings against him were dropped. Shmonov stated in an interview with NEVSKOYE VREMYA- INFORMATSIONNYY EKSPRESS that he rejects the diagnosis. In Shmonov's words, his attempt to fire on Gorbachev was a conscious and deliberate act. Moreover, Shmonov noted that he would not attempt a terrorist act now since the same people responsible for Gorbachev would just elect somebody else.

Public Believes Post-Coup Hopes Unjustified

OW1211141791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0734 GMT 12 Nov 91

From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO

[Text] Do you agree with the opinion that the suppression of the attempted state coup in August this year and the subsequent events led to the possibility of effective reform in the republics? The National Public Opinion Studies Center posed this question to participants in an October opinion poll, questioning 2053 people representing a national cross-section which included 1033 in Russia, 404 in the Ukraine, 409 in Central Asia, the news agency DATA reports.

As the data of the survey demonstrates, the majority did not subscribe with this point of view. 37% replied in the negative.

32% agreed that reforms had become possible in the republics.

31% abstained.

From this survey the greatest number of pessimists seemed to be amongst the Central Asian participants, and the least amongst the Ukrainians (28% replied that they "did not agree" in the Ukraine as opposed to 41% in Central Asia).

In answer to the question "Had the leaders of the republic made use of this opportunity?" 11% of Russians, 21% of Ukrainians and 24% of the Central Asians replied in the affirmative.

47% of those asked in Russia, 40% in the Ukraine and 30% in Central Asia accused the leaders of their republics of inaction

43%, 39% and 45% respectively abstained.

Margin of error - 3%.

Public Exhibits Pessimism on Economy, Politics

OW1311110791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0703 GMT 13 Nov 91

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a traditional poll carried out by the National Public Opinion Studies Centre in October, respondents were asked to assess the Soviet Union's economic, political, and inter-ethnic prospects, DATA news agency reports. A countrywide representative sample included 2,053 respondents.

According to the poll, the expectations are as follovs (percent of total):

	Expect improvement	Expect deterioration	No definite answer
In the economy	16	69	15
In politics	25	50	25
In inter-ethnic relations	23	55	22

Margin of error was 3%.

Poll on Possibility of Forming Islamic States

OW0411082491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0656 GMT 4 Nov 91

["Viewpoint" item; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] How do you feel about the possibility of the transformation of Central Asian Republics into Islamic states? The National Public Opinion Studies Center asked just such a question during a poll in October.

41% replied that this question did not affect then much one way or the other. Every fifth respondent said this possibility caused them to feel anxious, and 7% admitted that this thought terrified them. 6% hope for the establishment of Islamic states. 3% stated that they would gladly see the formation of a similar government. 23% could not answer.

The most favorable responses for creating an Islamic government came from those living in Central Asia (there an average of 25% were in favor as opposed to 5% in the Ukraine and 6% in Russia). However anxiety and fear in Central Asia were just as strong as in other republics (36% of the respondents were frightened as opposed to 28% on average throughout the country). The polarity of opinions among Central Asian respondents (they had the smallest percentage of those declining to answer—15% vs 25% on average in the country) is explained by the high level of tension in the region, which shows that the possibility of creating an Islamic state exists.

Tbe poll was conducted among 2,053 participants throughout the entire country, the DATA agency says. Margin of error is 3%.

TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Nov

LD1311074991 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 13 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Today's central newspapers continue to highlight the situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, commenting on the Russian parliament refusal to endorse Boris Yeltsin's decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in Chechen-Ingush, points out that there is only one way to resolve the problem—through talks. The Russian parliament took this path, setting up a special parliamentary commission to negotiate a settlement of the conflict, the newspaper writes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA believes that Chechen-Ingush has become a time- bomb for the Russian president. The newspaper's correspondent Boris Prokhorov, analysing the development of events in that republic, concludes that the flare-up of nationalist feelings in Chechen- Ingush was prompted by the well-known "decree issued by the Russian president who called for acts of disobedience, strikes and barricades in resistance to the junta of putschists" in the August of this year.

Prokhorov arrives at the following conclusion: It is not without reason that Dudayev is referred to "as a Chechen Yeltsin. Boris Nikolayevich can perceive without difficulty an exact copy of his own actions and deeds in the behaviour of the rebellious general."

NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA (THE INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) emphasises, for its part, that the development of events in Chechen-Ingush is unpredictable and does a direct damage to Russia. The newspaper's correspondent reports from Groznny that Chechens are busy preparing for defence and that the margin of trust in the Russian leadership has been exhausted, notwithstanding the Russian parliament decision not to ratify President Yeltsin's decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in the republic.

TRUD points out that despite the fact that the decree has not been ratified, problems remain. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes that the decree had an effect that was unexpected to the Russian leadership: The people rallied still more closely round their leader.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries without comment a report by Pavel Voshchanov, the Russian president's press secretary, who explained the president's stand on the parliament refusal to endorse his decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in Chechen-Ingush.

Newspapers continue to carry articles concerning the Russian president's decree banning the activities of the communist parties of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation on the republic's territory.

PRAVDA writes in this connection that "Boris Yeltsin has not only acted at variance with the law on public organisations but has also created a dangerous precedent to deal with any dissent."

The newspaper runs remarks about the decree by spokesmen of a number of deputies' factions at the Fifth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies.

PRAVDA, in its notes about the second congress of the Democratic Russia Movement, points out that the actions and policy of the movement, which in essence is a movement of middle-class sections and is now the most influential one following the departure of the Soviet Communist Party from the political arena, began to

manifest a turn against the trade unions—the mass movement of hired workers.

The press devotes much attention to the problem of transfers of state property to other owners. PRAVDA describes the state of things in the privatisation of housing in the capital.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA examines the problem of privatising state-run trading establishments.

The newspaper carries an interview with Gennadiy Osipov, director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute for Socio-Political Studies, who believes that "the privatisation process is evolving in an uncontrolled and uncivilised manner and is resulting in the fragmentation of the people's assets and in the enrichment of some few people (mainly those who have power and money) and further impoverishment of an overwhelming majority of others.

Petr Filippov, chairman of the Russian parliament subcommittee on property and privatisation, shares his opinion in the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE about the privatisation problem.

He thinks that "a massive attack is being launched on the Russian legislation on privatisation." The attack is manifesting itself in the transfer of enterprises into the possession of their personnel.

The Russian legislation on privatisation envisages that the process should be made known to everyone and that auctions and competitions should be held and citizens should be provided with tenders resultant of the utilisation of inscribed privatisation deposits.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports a sensation connected with the discovery of "secret money". The newspaper quotes Aleksandr Orlov, chairman of the Soviet parliament's control chamber as saying that "two secret accounts to an aggregate amount of 51.9 billion rubles has been discovered in the Union Ministry of Finance. The accounts have never figured in budgetary operations."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA also reports a sensational find in the Soviet Communist Party archives. "The archives keep 6,000 to 7,000 documents connected with Vladimir I. Lenin and the October Revolution and about 4,000 documents written by Lenin," Major General Vladimir Ponomaryov, who is a member of the Russian parliament committee on the transfer of Communist Party and KGB archives, told the newspaper.

"These are in point of fact works revealing an 'unknown' Lenin who is far from the textbook image," Professor Ponomaryov said. He believes that the study of the "huge mass of documents from Communist Party and KGB archives would be a major step in clearing the country's history from myths and untruths and filling numerous 'blank spots' with substance."

Mikolas Burokiavicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, who is now in the underground, gave an interview to PRAVDA. He believes that the present political regime in the republic is analogous to the anti-democratic, demagogical regime that existed in Lithuania in 1926-1940.

The opinion of the leader of Lithuanian Communists is that a strong class of Lithuanian national bourgeoisie connected with the West has formed in the republic. He is convinced that the democratic forces will unite and constitutionally strive for a democratic system in Lithuania.

Georgia will not sign an economic union treaty without the recognition of its independence, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia told the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE.

He believes that "such a treaty should be signed by legally independent states. Otherwise it may lead to undesirable political consequences and to the loss of sovereignty by republics, this time—forever."

Economic

Debt May Top 1 Trillion Rubles by End of Year

OW1311060491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to documents submitted by the USSR Finance Ministry to the Union parliament, the budget deficit in the USSR had reached 89.56 billion rubles by October of this year. By the end of the year, it is expected to go up to 153.318 billion. This and the deficit of the nonbudgetary fund for the stabilization of the economy will together amount to 204.601 billion rubles.

Yuriy Andreyev, member of the Budget and Financial Committee of the Council of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has told IF [INTERFAX] that the 30-billion credit the USSR Finance Ministry has asked for has already been spent. It would be repaid, he said, by the inclusion of the sum in the Soviet Union's internal debt. Mr. Andreyev said that, according to information provided by the Auditing Chamber of the USSR, the internal debt would amount to one trillion rubles by the end of the year.

He also said the ministry had not yet given parliament an item-to-item list of expenditures it was going to make out of the credit it had asked from the USSR State Bank. He thought the Union budget needed radical revision. The Union social programs had to be drastically cut down and mainly replaced by corresponding republican ones, the financing of Union economic programs out of the Union budget should be stopped, and no more subventions should be given to republics.

Foreign Currency 'Emergency Situation' Noted

PM1311120391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The USSR's Foreign Currency Situation. Session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy"]

[Text] The question of the USSR's foreign currency situation was on the agenda of the session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy that started yesterday. Despite its exceptional importance, journalists were not admitted to the session.

It was decided that the question of the foreign currency situation be especially considered by the committee following the 5 November government session, which discussed the question of the USSR's foreign currency resources in November. At that session it was announced that an "emergency situation has taken shape with regard to meeting current payments and current debts," and the shortage of the country's foreign currency resources in November could reach at least 1 billion rubles [R] in freely convertible currency.

A TASS correspondent was informed before the start of the session that the USSR's external debt today stands at R47-48 billion in freely convertible currency excluding debts of R17-18 billion owed to former socialist countries (talks regarding this part of the debt have still not been completed). At the same time the sum of debt owed to the Soviet Union stands at R94 billion.

USSR State Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko told a TASS correspondent during a recess in the session that "the situation as regards the country's foreign currency and foreign currency balance of payments is very grave and complicated, not because of the large sum of external debt but because we have disagreements and a lack of internal economic coordination in our country." Viktor Gerashchenko stressed that either regulation or complete freedom could provide a solution to the disagreements problem. "In my view, and taking world experience into consideration as well, there should not be complete economic freedom in the present economic situation; organs should be set up to regulate to country's foreign currency activity," the USSR State Bank chairman stressed.

Stepan Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Union-Republic Foreign Currency Committee, told a TASS correspondent that, in his speech to the session, he emphasized the need to establish without delay an inter-republic organ which would take on all the functions associated both with the Soviet external debt and with the debt owed by foreign states to the Soviet Union. "In my view, it would be expedient if two or three representatives of the states that are our country's biggest creditors, as well as representatives of the republics, were to participate in the work of this organ," he said.

Commentator Views Declining Exports, Imports

PM1311100391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Nov 91 p 2

[Commentary by V. Petrunya: "Notes of Concern. What Do We Export, and What Do We Import?"]

[Text] With a fine grasp of the internal situation, the resourceful Soviet entrepreneur Ostap Bender [central character of satirical novels by Soviet writers Ilf and Petrov, who was ever alert to the chance to enrich himself in any way] in historical terms displayed keen psychological acumen when skillfully duping the locals with the adventurist formula: "Help will come from abroad."

Today's international community are not fools either: While placing the ritual sop in its outstretched hand, it made it crystal clear that it was not begging but the practical quid pro quo principle that determined the content of the just market relations it had been longing to see here. I did not invent the axiom, and one does not have to be a clairvoyant to discover the naked truth about Russia's asthmatic foreign trade turnover, as it appears in the matter-of-fact lines of the latest statistical report.

The 36.8 percent decline in foreign trade turnover in January-August of this tragic year is not the whole story. It is merely an average figure. Because our exports were a little over 25 percent less than usual, while imports, from nice foreign parts, showed an even greater reduction of almost 46 percent.

Of course, you could again pin it all on the party apparatus, blame the communists, the left-wing (right-wing, rather) socialist revolutionaries, and, at the same time, the imperialists, who are "not helping" us. Mind you do not stray in the propaganda fog from a truth that is as basic as multiplication tables: They are not helping because they do not want to risk dealing with slipshod individuals, with windbags. Economists have arrived at the dry, pragmatic conclusion that the reduction in earnings from exports of home products and the rise in world prices are what led to the sharp reduction in foreign currency revenue.

But denouncing variable world prices is like blaming everything on the "crimes of the regime," of a regime that has gone: He who is not blind can see. It is easily discernible that we are a total shambles when it comes to trade. To lose 7 billion foreign currency rubles in eight months just because of our inability to meet commitments—that is, as a result of a reduction in the volume of exports—that takes some doing!

Alas, we can do it... What is the point of philosophizing about how we were and still are a disgraceful raw material adjunct of those same foreigners: Nearly four-fifths of the total volume of exports is raw materials, semimanufactures, and fuel and energy resources.

People say that a contract is more precious than money. Over there, abroad, where the economy, to our primitive way of thinking, is supposedly not planned but imbued with an anarchic spontaneity, they do not say that: They simply do not think otherwise over there. No, it is Russia that has not made its full and proper contribution over these months to providing for contract commitments on export deliveries. And the heaviest blow to partners' prestige was dealt, as the statistics show, by enterprises in Sakhalin and Tambov, Arkhangelsk and Astrakhan, Lipetsk and Nizhniy Novgorod Oblasts, Chuvashia and Buryatia, and Khabarovsk Kray.

There was a corresponding blow from the other "end": Over the eight months import purchases of poultry meat, butter, sunflower oil, tea and coffee, fruit, and also footwear, clothes, and, worst of all, medicines declined by nearly one-half. It is a body blow for us at the moment. Import revenue from ferrous metals, pipes, paper, rubber, and surface transport facilities has fallen by 50-60 percent.

There would be some kind of excuse if we were relatively prosperous—no matter. But everything is in such desperately short supply. And, unfortunately, imports play a pretty major role in Russian consumption. Meat, for instance is 6.5 percent, pulp is nearly 13, and footwear, knitwear, and medicines are 22-24 percent.

Thank goodness for the joint ventures, which over the eight months sent abroad products worth 463 million foreign currency rubles and supplied to Russia products worth 543 million foreign currency rubles. But this is a drop in the ocean against the background of a meager foreign trade turnover, which was 38.4 billion foreign currency rubles over the eight months.

The vicious circle of economic collapse will not be broken by turning to the experience of the unforgettable Ostap Ibragimovich [Bender], by eloquent rhetoric, or by a grave promise to free prices, like setting a pack of baying hounds on the starving masses. You will not find a university there, [early 20th century Russian writer] Aleksandr Kuprin's hero said: You have to think there.

Further Decline of Purchasing Power Predicted

OW1111004091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2057 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR Interrepublic Pricing Committee experts say that the introduction of free retail prices may cause both blue and white collar workers' purchasing power to slump below the post-war level.

An announcement by the Russian leadership indicates that prices will be freed in the next few months, possibly in January, 1992. The Russian Government plans to retain price controls over only few vital energy resources, namely, oil, gas, and coal. It will also control prices on certain food items, such as milk, bread, baby food, and vodka.

Experts forecast that by the time price reforms begin, the average monthly wage in Russia will climb to approximately 700 rubles. But with the initiation of price reforms, food prices are expected to shoot up approximately 400 [rubles]. And at the new price levels, an average worker's salary will purchase only a fraction of what it could purchase in 1950. Under the new prices, the average wage earner would be able to afford only 28% of the quantity of beef he could have purchased four [years ago].

Experts say that 200% increase in state oil prices and the escalating cost of equipment and technology crucial to agriculture will be responsible for the sharp prices on agricultural products. To guarantee agricultural enterprises a 25% profitability level, (which is 17 points lower than the 1990 level), calculations indicate that the state purchase prices of food items must at least triple.

Several factors may complicate the liberalization of prices: producer monopolies and the state financial system's instability, as well as the absence of competition and a market infrastructure. Free prices may simply generate inflation and fail to stimulate production growth.

	1950	1991*	1992**	1950	1991*	1992**
	(in rubles)					
Average Wage	117	330	700			
	State retail prices (per kg)			Quantity of Products Purchaseable (Average Wage)		
Beef	3-00	7-00	30-00	39	47	11
Milk	0-35	0-50	3-00	343	660	110
Butter	6-40	9-70	63-00	18	34	5
Eggs (10)	1-40	1-80	5-00	84	183	66
Rye Bread	0-30	0-48	1-70	390	687	194
Wheat Flour	0-80	0-94	3-50	146	351	94
Macaroni	1-00	1-20	4-00	117	275	82

*As of April 2, 1991, when new state prices were introduced.
**Forecasted price after introduction of free prices.

Yavlinskiy on Soviet Gold Reserves, Reform

LD1011183691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1944 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for Management of the National Economy, by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA observer Sergey Parkhomenko; place and date not given; from the "Gold for Reform" program—recorded]

[Text] [Parkhomenko] Grigoriy Alekseyevich, let us start from the beginning. Quite simply, why did you need to know this?

[Yavlinskiy] Questions such as gold and the state's potential are, in the carrying out of reform, of decisive importance for answering the main question—namely, at whose expense is the reform being carried out? Reform may be carried out at the expense of people or at the expense of the state and the potential which it possesses. Gold is one of the questions to which one needs a very precise answer. We asked this question earlier and were unable to get such an answer. It was of special importance and kept secret. We would have liked to use it in our 500 Days Program, but this information was not available. Therefore, one of the tasks I set for myself was to ascertain what the position was in respect of gold and to inform our citizens of this.

[Parkhomenko] As far as I am aware, you began speaking of this for the first time on the Vid television company program with Aleksandr Lyubimov.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, that is so.

[Parkhomenko] You did this at a time when you were in London, the program being recorded.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, it was a recording. The reason for doing this was as follows. Admittance to the IMF, the World Bank, and other international economic organizations requires that we present full official statistics including information on our gold reserve. This is mandatory and familiar throughout the world. It has for a long time now been no secret. All the world's countries regard this as normal information. I considered it essential, before I handed over this information in London to the G-7 representatives and to Prime Minister Major, that I should first speak about this to my own citizens in my own country. This is what I did, and why it occurred in a recording while the documents were actually being handed over.

[Parkhomenko] Tell us again how much there is.

[Yavlinskiy] I have been checking this matter yet again. The amount that we may expect as of 1 January 1992 is 240 tonnes. It is the amount that, on 1 October, we expected to have as of 1 January next year. That is the absolutely precise figure. It comprises what the republics may supply to this reserve and what Russia is supplying to it. It is Russia, of course, who is the main supplier. The figure is also based on the fact that some republics, for instance Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, have stopped supplying gold and have adopted decisions to this effect. That then is the expected physical amount at the year's end taking account of all that is received and issued for the needs of production.

[Parkhomenko] Is this 240 tonnes a lot or little? What can this be compared with? Is there any base figure to put it in perspective?

[Yavlinskiy] It can be compared, say, with the volume of extraction. The volume of extraction, say, in 1989 was 304 tonnes, and in 1990 it was 302 tonnes, that is less than the annual extraction volume. I have already mentioned that in 1953 this amount was more than 2,000 tonnes; 2,049 tonnes in 1953 was the amount, the volume of gold here. But in fact, the dynamics of recent years has been very intensive, there have been large exports of gold in 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1991.

[Parkhomenko] To the best of my knowledge this figure of 240 tonnes was greeted with great mistrust. We have in our archives an interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov for ARGUMENTY I FAKTY where he attempts to break down, year by year, when, what, and how much he sold along with what and how much he had signed. In 1990, he said, a joint decision was taken, stressing that it was jointly with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, later the country's president, on the sale of 250 tonnes of gold.

[Yavlinskiy] As regards doubts, then I understand this question. Everyone wants to be richer than he actually is. I am working on official data which was given to me, at my request, by the main administration for the control of the use of precious metals and stones. So, I am basing my argument on this, on this I base my information, these are official figures. As regards the figure which Nikolay Ivanovich quoted in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, 250 tonnes in 1990, this figure is correct in the sense that he signed documents for this amount. But apart from this, that year gold was sold; gold was supplied for export according to decisions signed in 1989. Apart from this a number of deals were made as security, that is, gold was deposited as security, then Pavlov's government took and did not take, decisions on buying it back, and so the final result for 1990 was the supply for export of 474.5 tonnes of gold.

[Parkhomenko] That means 474.5 tonnes of gold was taken out of storage according to documents from various periods and of various kinds.

[Yavlinskiy] So, 474.5 tonnes of gold went for export. This is absolutely precise, that is what was exported from the stores where it is kept.

That is a figure that does, in fact, exist. In other words, there are two lines, as it were: There are the documents that are being signed, and there are the physical operations, with the gold. If you compare them from one time to another, they will be different. The decision may have been signed earlier, and the release of the gold for export may be later affected. What matters, in fact, is what it was spent on. So now, analysis of the documents in our possession shows that in most cases the records are of this sort: on freely convertible currency; on the purchase of grain; on medicine; and, on essential goods. Those are the things for which it was mainly done. But, there is also another aspect of the matter: Why were we forced to handle matters in that way? The reason is that the

economy was continuously deteriorating, the mechanisms were ceasing to work, and all the time, various methods were being used to drug the economy, as it were, into a more cheerful state and patch up the holes in this specific way. Well, this had to be paid for.

[Parkhomenko] The year 1990—the beginning of 1990, at least—was the year of the Ryzhkov program: the year of the election of the USSR president and the Ryzhkov program, and the failure of that program.

[Yavlinskiy] Well, that year already proved that—it was both the beginning of the creation of a new program and the creation of a different program. Because all those factors merged into one and showed that the economy was very sick, attempts were made to patch it up in such a way—we felt something had to be done, because it followed from the economic situation itself that the situation was bound to get worse at a still faster rate. Well, something is done. Then, besides that...

[Parkhomenko, interrupting] ... to patch a few of the holes.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes. Besides that, the dynamics of prices on the world's gold market has fallen sharply in the last three years. This shows that more and more gold is becoming available. The joint analysis spoke of this. In reality, having carried out an analysis of the data, with my colleagues, leading economists, many greatly respected, we came to the conclusion that there was nothing particularly surprising in this. This was more or less the picture one would have expected.

[Parkhomenko] Very well. As I understand it, 240 tonnes is the official figure of the gold belonging to the state. Does any belong to the KGB, the Army, or the party?

[Yavlinskiy] There's a question there—I'll answer your question in a moment, but there's a more substantial question which is being discussed all the time, namely the announcement by the USSR Gosbank of the 375...

[Parkhomenko, interrupting] ...374.5.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, 374.5 tonnes, which is the balance of the USSR Gosbank. A study of this question has shown that indeed, in 1938, the USSR Gosbank received a document according to which 374.5 tonnes were transferred to its balance as security for Gosbank's operations, all its activities. But the actual mechanics of the storage of gold in our country is such that gold is stored only at the USSR Finance Ministry, only in its repositories. All Gosbank's gold was also stored there. The decisons were taken and the gold came and went, and the upshot is that today, the whole volume of gold that we can expect by 1 January of next year is roughly...

[Parkhomenko, interrupting] In other words, what remains of the 374 is accumulated in the same place, in those....

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, all that, yes, that's the total volume. So 134 tonnes were evidently requested by the Finance Ministry and Gosbank, on loan as it were, so that they could continue their operations [words indistinct] with an obligation to return them later. That seems to have been so. But, what you and I are talking about now is the physical volume. What has prompted this—and I want to say this again—what has prompted this whole story was that we had to report to the Foreign Ministry how much gold we have so that normal economic relations can be maintained, and I considered it necessary to announce that figure first to our own citizens.

[Parkhomenko] Physically, then, is their any gold belonging to the party, the KGB, or the Army, lying somewhere?

[Yavlinskiy] Well, as far as those three structures are concerned, I have no documents or information to indicate that they have gold. I have discussed this problem with the present KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin, and he told me they had several tonnes of gold which they returned. It was transferred to them. Well, literally two tonnes or so. They have now returned them as surplus to requirements, so to speak. As for the party, I have no information; I can simply say for my own part that I think the party always felt that all the gold there is in the country was its own gold, so it did not need to make any special repositories or store that gold separately anywhere. It simply assumed that the gold that we had was gold that it could dispose of at any time as it saw fit. Most likely, that is the way it was. I simply do not have any documents of any kind relating to the possession of gold.

[Parkhomenko] Right. Then let us ask what is perhaps the last question and in this situation perhaps the most important: What is the value of this information? How far is it guaranteed to correspond to reality?

[Yavlinksiy] Well, as for the value of any information in our country, that's always a very interesting question. It is one of the most entertaining questions. I say again that the information I am giving is the official information existing in our country. It is information with seals and official stamps and what not: all you need in order to accept it as official. Logical analysis shows that this information fits in with the picture that one may have. Economic analysis shows that what this information indicates is plausible. There is no inconsistency. As for the fact that doubt could be caste on this information, here two situations arise, one more intriguing than the other. If someone says tomorrow that he has information that there is, say, not 240 tonnes of gold but 300 tonnes of 600 tonnes, 700 tonnes of 1,000 tonnes, then as I see it, the question would merit immediate investigation.

I do not know how this should be organized—whether by the Supreme Soviet, by deputies, or by someone else. This would mean that there is dual bookkeeping. There are the official figures...

[Parkhomenko, interrupting] ... moreover, not on the level of some local office, but at the highest level...

[Yavlinskiy, interrupting] ... yes. There is dual bookkeeping. There are the official figures of the USSR Minister of Finance which say how much gold we have. But, if there is any data meriting serious consideration to the effect, for example, that instead of 240, 500 or 1,000 tonnes can be expected, that means that there are some other sources. It means that there are some other places of storage. I can't ...

[Parkhomenko, interrupting] And if there is a second place of storage, there can also be a fourth and a twelfth one.

[Yavlinskiy] Then this issue will simply be open ended. We could then anticipate all the time that we are much wealthier than we really are. I can understand the desire to be weathier. But the facts are what they are today.

Bank Official Cited on Influx of Deposits

PM0811160391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by I. Zhagel: "Banks Filling With... Rumors. Why the Longest Lines Recently Have Been for Savings Banks"]

[Text] Tremendous lines have formed in savings banks in Moscow and some other cities over the past three or four days, starting 29 October. But these people had no intention of withdrawing money for some purchases—which would be natural under conditions of the rapid depreciation of the ruble and the no less rapid growth in the prices of commodities. On the contrary, they were depositing their savings in the bank.

"It is hard at present to assess the volume of new deposits going into accounts. The specific figures might appear only in several days' time," V. Solovov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Savings Bank, said. "However, based on the capacity of the bank's branches, I can assume that the money deposits during this peak period were tens of times greater than usual.

In general, peculiar comings and goings of money have been observed here before. If we analyze statistics, we will see that the amount of cash deposited in savings banks has always increased at the end of every month and for a week or two before holidays. That is, before it is necessary to pay out wages and bonuses, and a large amount of cash in hand is needed for this.

And rumors always appear among the people on the threshold of such events, making them take money to the bank. Incidentally, a hullabaloo arises most frequently over the imminent replacement of 50 and 100 ruble bills—it is also difficult not to notice a certain cyclic recurrence in such talk. It sometimes even seems, a well-known economist told me, that such rumors come from bank officials themselves. And as soon as the problems with cash in hand are resolved, they refute these fabrications.

It is interesting that in the second half of October there was again talk in the press and on television of the impossibility of replacing large-denomination bills. But people—in case of dire need—took money to the bank. This time, however, other causes also contributed to the unprecedented leap in the influx of cash.

For example, the Russian Legislature's adoption of the Law on the Indexation of Income, including savings. A role was also played by B. Yeltsin's statement on the possible introduction of a republic currency. And, of course, by the Russian president's exposition of his economic program 28 October—the very next day the banks were packed.

I personally do not know whether it is good or bad that people in our country believe any statements, including promises of imminent reforms. But it is possible unequivocally to approve of the fact that the people still trust the banks, to which they are prepared to give their money for looking after. Without this it would generally be impossible to implement any reforms.

Agricultural

'Undeclared Strike' of Peasants Viewed

PM1111095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Konovalov: "Undeclared Strike of Peasants of All Republics"]

[Text] We have somehow overlooked perhaps the most massive and universal strike. No one announced the start of the strike, but so far there has been no signal for retreat. For a long time the peasants of all republics have been conducting a gigantic protest action in a very peasantlike way—in silence but thoroughly and uncompromisingly.

What does the crushing failure of the state order for agricultural produce this year mean if not a strike, if not a protest? It has been fulfilled only 51 percent for grain and even less for other foods, and after all it is not because there has been a harvest shortfall, drought, or natural disaster.

Although this year has not been the best, it has not been the worst, and there is output despite the usual losses which horrify foreigners. Moreover, it is disadvantageous and ruinous for the farms to keep for themselves the harvest they have brought. There are constant reports that surplus stocks of grain and vegetables are being spoiled and lost locally. The notorious "first behest"—supplying the state first—has so stuck in the peasant's throat that he refuses to fulfill it even if he is the one to suffer.

He no longer needs to fear that in response to his disobedience the state will not allocate, will not assign him the equipment, construction materials, and fertilizers promised by the contract because he knows the

price of these empty promises, and most important, he understands that in any case he will be ruined on this path.

The prices at which the state suggests that the countryside sell output, given all the recent increases, remain grossly unfair, and they cannot be otherwise since they are fixed for the agricultural producer but not for the industrial producer. However much you increase the state order price, the price of industrial goods for the countryside will immediately increase 100-300 percent.

Our countryside cannot grow used to being fleeced and to unfairness. The whole thrust and history of the "proletarian" state is that however bad things may be for everyone, they should be even worse for the peasantry, that most suspect petit bourgeois class. However strange it may seem, our peasant's habit does have a limit. It has come.

Liberalized prices for agricultural output, the inevitability of which was announced only recently, have already essentially started to be introduced by the countryside without prior arrangement. It is refusing to fulfill the state order and tax in kind. The stores' food shelves are empty. Prices are rocketing at the markets. Frightening contract and commercial prices are appearing. We can only work out roughly how much sausage can cost if suddenly prices are released when it already costs 162 rubles a kg in the stores. We are only considering how much more expensive eggs will become with the forthcoming liberalized prices but just you try to find them anywhere cheaper than 15 rubles for 10.

This arbitrary self-release of peasant prices does not of course resolve the problems. Even this way the countryside cannot supply itself with the necessary resources, and the forthcoming general release of prices from above will provide little without a whole package of measures, without a coordinated program.

We must understand the main thing. Keeping the peasant in the clutches of prices diktat and the monopoly of partners and the state is no longer possible. He will simply stop feeding us, and he will not be to blame. Unpopular measures are unpopular because at least initially they make life harder. If things are bad for everyone, they cannot be even worse for the peasant as they were before. We have already gone through that to our misfortune.

Commentary on Results of Grain Harvest

924A0157A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 1

[By A. Filatov: "Everything Is the Way It Used To Be: A Commentary After the Completion of Harvesting"]

[Text] (TASS)—Last year's episode recurred: Hundreds of thousands of hectares of grains were not harvested and were snowed under in the fields of Siberia.

According to current data of the press center of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, as of the end of October about half a million hectares of grain were not harvested throughout the country, taking into account crops which perished, which includes in Irkutsk Oblast—37,000 hectares; in Chita Oblast—88,000 hectares; in Buryat SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—43,000 hectares; and in Tuva—20,000 hectares of field area. This grain may be written off as a loss because last week it became sharply colder and snow fell there.

The results of grain harvesting are not gratifying: On the whole, 157 million tonnes of grain have been threshed. This is almost 62 million tonnes less than was harvested in 1990. Taking into account loan returns, 39.1 million tonnes of grain were delivered to state stocks. This is 51 percent of state requisitions, or 24 percent of the grain threshed. For comparison, in 1990 65.8 million tonnes of grain were procured from all categories of farms.

This year, only the farms of 15 oblasts and republics of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], six oblasts of the Ukraine, and four oblasts of Belorussia have filled state requisitions.

The harvesting of sugar beets and vegetables is coming to an end, and 51 million tonnes of sweet root crops have been procured. This is 14.5 million tonnes less than last year. Vegetable procurement has come to 10.2 million tonnes, or 78 percent of the level of last year.

Scientific

Six 'Cosmos' Satellites Launched 12 Nov

LD1311113591 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Earth satellites "Cosmos- 2165", "Cosmos-2166", "Cosmos-2167", "Cosmos-2168", "Cosmos-2169", and "Cosmos-2170" were launched in the Soviet Union on November 12.

The sputniks are fitted out with scientific equipment to continue outer space studies.

Cosmonauts Continue Experiments in Space

LD1111154591 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Flight Control Centre November 11 TASS—Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev, now working on the "Mir" orbital complex, conducted geophysical and astrophysical surveys, as well as space material studies, in the period from November 6-10. The "Mir" station was orbited on February 2, 1986.

The cosmonauts, members of the 10th expedition, have carried out surveys of vast areas of the ground and ocean surface by means of the "Priroda-5" photographic installation and the Kap-350 topographic apparatus. Used also during studies of the earth's natural resources and

the environment were video-spectral instruments, installed on a telecontrolled platform of the "Kvant-2" module.

Today, the cosmonauts are to smelt germanium on the "Optizon" technological installation, which heats samples of semiconducting materials by focused rays of energy from electric light sources.

In the morning, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev were subjected to medical checks. Both feel fine.

Academician Opposes Space Program Fragmentation

927Q0027A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 4

[Interview with academician Vladimir Fedorovich Utkin, general director of the Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine Building, by M. Rebrov; place and date not given: "Sovereignization of Space Research? This Is an Absurdity"]

[Text] **Let us state candidly that the situation is extremely strange. The Baykonur Cosmodrome is located on the territory of Kazakhstan, while the most powerful scientific and production potential of the space sector is located on the territory of Russia. If we announce that this is all Russian property, all the sovereign republics will lose. If Kazakhstan insists that "the cosmodrome is ours and our alone" then the next question is this: "Who will fund this enormous test complex with fixed capital worth 6 billion and how, and how will it even be maintained?"**

This problem was also the subject of our correspondent's interview with the general director of the Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine Building—the country's leading space center—general designer for space rocket equipment, academician Vladimir Fedorovich Utkin.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, the country is in a euphoria of "sharing." Today, everything is being made "mine" and "yours" whether or not it is a divisible thing. Land and factories, electric power station and ports, cultural monuments and.... in short, everything. We may assume that the space above a city or oblast or republic will fall under the jurisdiction of a new sovereign formation. How do you assess this prospect?

[Utkin] It is difficult for me to say how this process will develop, but I am convinced that we should be oriented primarily on common sense and international standards and agreements. Space is for the entire planet, and before "sharing" space programs and space research in general, we must decide what the national, fundamental, and applied programs and projects are and what investments are required for them.

Take the cosmodrome at Baykonur, which was built using money from the entire country. How can it be assigned to a category of "mine?" There is no need to lapse into ambition and vanity. Haste is not the best helper in this complicated business especially since it affects everyone's interests—Russia, Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, and any other republic, sector, etc.

[Rebrov] The fever of sovereignization has already spread to space research. This "disease" threatens to become chronic, but perhaps the most important thing is that the interests of space research itself are not being taken into account.

[Utkin] Unfortunately this is true, and it is not only Kazakhstan that intends to set up its own space agency. Russia is also preparing to do this. The general designer of the Energiya Scientific Production Association has stated that the collective of this scientific production association owns the Mir orbital station. Tomorrow we can expect that those who are developing communications and navigation satellites and satellites for studying natural resources will be doing the same thing. It is like a chain reaction; it just has to start, but in fact many design and production collectives, essentially the entire country, have participated in the design, manufacture, and outfitting of the various kinds of equipment and other space technology. If we follow these arguments further, then the entire nation has experienced certain deprivations from the cost of the space programs.

[Rebrov] It is not only we who are spending a good sum on space research. Every country that is engaged in space research carries considerable expenditures. Each American taxpayer provides about $120 from his own pocket, while an inhabitant of West Europe pays about $9.

[Utkin] Those are the figures cited in the press, but I would like to talk about something else. While they have seized certain technical space facilities (the cosmodrome, launch facilities, assembly and test premises, ground measuring facilities, etc.), and along with them a certain amount of space activity, the new owners are not thinking about how to fund and organize the work, and this is a problem that will not go away. Maintaining Baykonur costs a great deal, but neither should we forget something else: As I have already said, in order to pursue space programs it is not only launch facilities that are needed but also a command and measuring complex, a control center, etc.

Sovereignization of space research is an absurdity. You must understand that big projects like space communications, meteorology, navigation, cartography, and natural resources, will have a palpable effect only given precise coordination and cooperation. In one orbit a satellite "looks at" enormous areas—"one's own" and "others." It turns out to be unprofitable if it is "servicing" just one region. That is not difficult to see.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, we like to blame the West; we say that they are acting in a different way, but we do not want to learn.

[Utkin] Yes, we like to do that. I recently visited the United States where they have a single national space program, and the space centers at Cape Canaveral or the

space center in Houston are not the property of any particular state but of NASA—the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The European countries are also acting wisely; they have combined their technical and financial potential in the European Space Agency—ESA. We could create something like that here. It would be a rational step since something on the order of more than 2,000 enterprises in the country are working in the space industry. Space research makes up 1.5 percent of GNP.

[Rebrov] A final question, Vladimir Fedorovich. You are a USSR people's deputy and have worked in one of the Supreme Soviet committees. Does our country need a law on space research—a single law that covers and regulates all directions of activity in this field?

[Utkin] Without a doubt it is needed, and the sooner it is passed the more effectively and sensibly many legal, scientific, technical, and ecological issues can be resolved.

Military

Union States Position on Kurils' Transfer

OW1211162091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 2" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry has prepared a two-page report to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliament on the state of Soviet Armed Forces on the Southern Kurils, a document clearly reflecting the attitude of the Soviet military to the plan for transferring the Southern Kuril islands to Japan.

The report says, among other things, that "the degree of Japanese military activity in the vicinity of the Southern Kuril islands has been steadily high" and that the Japanese force on Hokkaido, "far from diminishing, has been growing in strength and acquiring a distinctly offensive quality."

During the past two years, the report notes, the strength of Soviet troops in the Far East has been slashed by 120,000 men, which, however, "has entailed no reciprocal steps on the part of Japan."

The authors conclude that if the islands of Kunashir and Iturup are transferred to Tokyo's jurisdiction, Japan will establish full control over the Strait of Catherine, through which U.S. and Japanese submarines will gain free access to the Sea of Okhotsk "This is bound to substantially reduce the combat stability of the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear forces," the report says.

Servicemen To Begin Serving 18 Months

LD1211225191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2138 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said today that as of next year servicemen will be serving for one and a half years and that the ministry itself is being transferred to financial autonomy.

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Ukrainian Ambitions

PM0811121791 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 44, 3-10 Nov 90 pp 8, 9

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Marshal Ye.M. Shaposhnikov by Yuriy Teplyakov; place and date not given]

[Text] [Teplyakov] If you don't mind, let's begin by describing the situation following the Ukraine parliament's decision to place the armed forces stationed in the Republic under its jurisdiction.

[Shaposhnikov] I can't understand this move. The law states clearly: all organizations concerned with defense of the state are directed by the country's President and State Council. The Ukrainian delegation has voted for it. Now they reject it? I understand only too well the Republic's desire to be independent, but let's follow a civilized road. How can there be a national army when there is still to be a referendum? It is still unknown whether the people want to live separately from Russia.

And another thing. How can one talk about control over the Army without having asked the Army? Will the troops want to serve in the Ukraine under the proposed political set-up? All these things cannot be ignored.

The very day after the Soviet President warned that it would be against the law to divide the Army, they consider draft laws in the Ukraine that contradict the warning. I don't see any way out of this troublesome confrontation at all.

A serious negotiation should be started soon. The State Council should be called into session (according to MN's [MOSCOW NEWS'] sources, the session will start on November 4—Yu.T.) and it will try to solve all these issues. The Ukraine ought to recall what its representatives decided at the interrepublican conference at the Defense Ministry. All questions pertaining to defense, to the armed forces, should be solved jointly.

[Teplyakov] Any contacts?

[Shaposhnikov] We maintain contacts. Thus, I talk with the Ukraine's Defense Minister General Morozov every day. But we have not been able to resolve any problem. He is subordinate to the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet and I am subordinate to the USSR President.

[Teplyakov] This means that you can't give orders to a Soviet Army general?

[Shaposhnikov] No, I can't.

[Teplyakov] Do you have the right to pull the Army out of the Ukraine?

[Shaposhnikov] I do have the right, but I'm not going to do it. You can't imagine what it means to relocate a modern army. Armies of the past were easy to relocate. The modern army is so unwieldy that it's quite an effort to move it to a different place. Because of the housing problem, all desire to change location vanishes. No, it wouldn't pay to withdraw the Army from the Ukraine. Most probably, it doesn't want to leave—many officers would likely choose to stay. We aren't going to prevent them. But these are minor matters. The most important thing, I may repeat, is to immediately start developing a concept of collective security. There is a need to conclude an agreement on the defense alliance of sovereign states. We must prepare and adopt a status on stationing Union troops on the territory of independent Republics in the transition period. (It can last about five years.) It's important to arrange things so that the Army personnel are not hurt, and do not get provoked. Especially today.

[Teplyakov] Do such things happen?

[Shaposhnikov] They do, unfortunately. On October 6 I addressed an open letter to the Armed Forces of the USSR. I noted that laws still exist in the country, there is the president, the oath of allegiance. I stressed that it was most important for the Armed Forces not to get involved in political games at the moment, and to strictly observe Soviet laws. A day later, I received a telephone call from Kiev: "Your secret letter contains an insult and constitutes interference in the Ukraine's internal affairs." I didn't even mention the Ukraine in that letter. Why look for a crime which doesn't exist? I put it straight to him: let's leave the troops out of it, let's not demonstrate any political ambition here. We parted on this note. Shortly thereafter, I was informed that the newspaper VYSOKIY ZAMOK [High Castle], based in Lvov, wrote that the deputies of the Ukraine's parliament, members of People's Rada (Council) had received xeroxed copies of a secret directive of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, instructing the commanding officers of military units not to obey orders from the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine. The directive also ordered them to disrupt the Ukrainian referendum, scheduled for December 1.

Incidentally, my letter contained not a word about the referendum.

[Teplyakov] What's going to happen next?

[Shaposhnikov] My prognosis is as follows: the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine will achieve its objective, to create its own armed forces. May God grant them success. But why the haste?

[Teplyakov] Do you think that the Ukraine will eventually leave the USSR?

[Shaposhnikov] It is not going to leave the Economic Union. There may be a division with regard to the Armed Forces. In any case, the referendum will clarify their position. There are the eastern regions of the Ukraine, there is the Crimea, where, to my mind, the situation is different. I think people there will not want to separate.

[Teplyakov] What will you do if people turn to you and say: We are Russians, and we don't want to leave Russia?

[Shaposhnikov] Let's not discuss this here. I've taken an oath: while I'm in charge of the Army, it is not going to involve itself in ethnic conflicts. No political objective is worth one drop of human blood.

[Teplyakov] I can't help asking you about the future of nuclear weapons in the Ukraine. I've heard from competent experts that the warheads have been dismantled and shipped to Russia, and that the whole argument is nonsense.

[Shaposhnikov] Frankly speaking I'm tired of false rumors. Even Kravchuk has said that the Ukraine has no claims upon the weapons, only it must know where these weapons are. With regard to control, this is the job of the center.

First Soviet Army Subunit Leaving Estonia

PM1211152191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, REUTER roundup]

[Text] The first Soviet Army subunit is leaving Estonia. A train of military hardware belonging to an airborne battalion stationed near Viru has left.

Only 30 airborne troops remain to guard property. A battalion of the same type is preparing to pull out of Viljandi. USSR Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov promised the Estonian Government to withdraw these two subunits within the month. The local mass media remind him that the month is already up.

Center Established To Finance Troop Withdrawal

LD1311120291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1105 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Nov (TASS)—The Union Ministry of Defense intends to cover its expenses for troop withdrawal from Eastern Europe and Mongolia, for their housing in the country, and for the conversion of military production by selling off movable and immovable Army property. A commercial center is being set up for this purpose, which will be a holding company operating

on the principles of paying for itself and self-financing, a high-ranking representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense stated to the TASS correspondent today.

The property in Eastern Europe and Mongolia, as well as on the country's territory, has "great potential," Lieutenant General Vyacheslav Gorokhov, who deals with armaments issues, reported.

He did not make any forecasts about possible reactions to setting up the center on the part of the sovereign republics that have declared the Army property deployed on their territory to be their own property.

Role of Defense Economic Relations Viewed

OW1311053591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2133 GMT 12 Nov 91

["Cover Story" from the "Soviet Business Report" for 13 November: "The USSR's Defense Industry and the World Market"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The role of the Soviet defense industry in the country's economic relations with other countries can be viewed from two aspects, specialists at the SovEkon center suggest. On the one hand, there is the question of Soviet arms sales abroad, and on the other, the prospect of joint production and export of products geared to the civilian market.

Consumer Goods Rather Than Military Equipment?

Until recently, the Soviet Union was one of the largest suppliers of weaponry to the world market. Between 1986 and 1990, the USSR exported 9-7 [as received] billion rubles ($16.4 billion) worth of weapons and military equipment. (In 1990, such exports comprised 16% of the total volume of Soviet exports). In fiscal terms, revenue received from Soviet arms exports is almost equal to the income earned from Soviet exports of machinery and equipment, which in 1990 stood at 11 billion rubles ($19 billion). However, under the present circumstances arms sales cannot be viewed as having a promising future since it is certain that they will be curtailed.

The volume of civilian goods manufactured by the Soviet defense industries and sold abroad is, however, extremely modest by world standards. While the United States exports some $6-8 billion worth of civilian aircraft per year, Soviet sales of such aircraft do not bring in more than $1.7 billion. Similarly, the export of hardware and software earns $25-30 billion for the United States, while Soviet income from such sales is only $0.17 billion, and figures for the export of electronic equipment are $6-7 billion and $260 million, respectively.

Conversion Will Affect 90% of the Defense Industry

Specialists believe that of the limited number of Soviet enterprises which are specialized and well-equipped, only 10% of all defense plants fall into this category. It is likely that these top ranking plants will continue to concentrate mainly on military equipment.

The second category, encompassing some 30% of all the enterprises in the military-industrial sector, includes plants which already produce both civilian and military goods. The remainder of the defense plants, however, will have to completely refocus their production. Thus, about 90% of all the defense plants will, in one way or another, be affected by the conversion process.

The West Is the Most Suitable Partner

The main, if not the only, serious partners for top-level Soviet defense plants—apart from possible collaboration with each other—are foreign firms.

In the first place, the advanced technology that has been developed in the defense industry sector is several notches above that at Soviet plants producing civilian goods and, therefore, it would be awkward to form partnerships between the two sectors. Secondly, such a high level of technology was developed specifically for the production of military equipment and it cannot be diverted to civilian use without considerable expenditure. Estimates have been made that as much as $10 billion in foreign investment would be needed annually during the next decade for conversion of such plants to be successfully carried out.

Possible Channels for Collaboration

Specialists have suggested several promising paths that could be explored in launching the Soviet military-industrial complex onto the world market.

Export licensing and technology. The defense industry's potential for issuing licenses to utilize Soviet patents is indeed impressive, if one takes into consideration the fact that some 80,000-85,000 inventions are patented every year. Some observers in fact believe that the sale of patents could bring in as much hard currency as does the sale of machinery and equipment. At present only one percent of all inventions—not more than 700-800 annually—are patented abroad, while only 60-80 of these patents are sold.

Manufacturing inputs for foreign firms. The defense industries could produce some of the components for imported automobiles, various kinds of equipment, furniture and heavy consumer goods. One possibility is for Russia to build hulls for both ocean-going and river passenger ships. This would provide work for Soviet shipyards that have been supplying vessels for the Navy and would cut back on hard currency purchases of shipping from abroad.

Assembly production. Many specialists urge that the Soviet Union, with its low labor costs, should embark on large scale assembly projects, utilizing imported inputs and components. At present, only a small number of consumer electronics are being assembled. These include

television sets and VCRs put out by South Korea's Samsung and Goldstar, Germany's Waltham and other firms.

Importing inputs for Soviet industries. The purchase of components would permit converted defense industries to turn out high quality goods that meet world technical standards. In view of the Soviet Union's lag in such fields as electronics, importing components is the only way in which goods which can compete on the world markets can be produced.

Soviet manufacturers of aircraft have already started negotiations with leading foreign firms for providing Western engines for Soviet-made planes. This is due to the fact that Soviet engine design seriously falls short of world standards.

A New Direction: Technology Centers

As regards joint enterprises in the defense industry, the establishment of technology centers is of particular importance. These would permit new engineering and scientific ideas to find a speedy application and would focus the production process on turning out goods that can be sold on the world market. More than ten such technology centers have already been set up in the USSR. The largest of these are in Tomsk (eastern Siberia), St. Petersburg, Zelenograd (near Moscow) and Rostov-on-Don.

The world's first technology center, with the status of a free economic zone, may soon be founded in Troytsk, not far from Moscow. The academic centers, already established here, specialize in physics, biotechnology, information science and computerization. They are well connected internationally and are acknowledged to be world leaders in several aspects of technology.

Law on Army Needed To Solve Recruitment Issue

OW1311125391 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1030 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Report by A. Bardo from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] For the first time in the history of the Armed Forces of our country, the fall call-up is not being carried out in accordance with the Order of the Minister of Defense, but in accordance with the USSR President's Decree. Our correspondents are reporting from the Training Center of the Transbaykal Military District, which is the largest in the country. [Video shows crews training with T-62 and T-72 tanks; troops marching]

[Begin recording] [Bardo] The issue of recruitment arose in all its complexity this year. The former Union Republics, now sovereign States, have announced the call-up of youths on a territorial basis. Some have adopted laws on an alternative form of service, and on creating a National Guard. The only thing left is to sympathize with the Voyenkomat [Military Commissariat] workers, whose task is to fully ensure, using their own terminology—a fully subscribed draft contingent. [Video shows an officer demonstrating a piece of machinery to assembled parents and youths; youths and parents examining various displays]

These youths and their parents, became participants in one of the measures organized by the Rayon Voyenkomat for the very purpose of fulfilling draft requirements. The draftees were invited to their future service location, giving them a chance to acquaint themselves with it ahead of time, and at the same time to calm the mothers worried by the recent— and to my mind, extremely untimely—article in one of the local papers about the terrible customs prevailing in the Army.

Incidentally, it must be said that the Transbaykal Military District is no better off when it comes to so-called irregular relations. On the other hand, if we do not talk about it, then the illness that is afflicting the Army will simply go underground. [Video shows Bardo interviewing Lieutenant Colonel Y. G. Batishchev, rayon military commissar.]

[Batishchev] We are still operating according to old laws, although we understand that we must live in a new way. I appeal to all parliamentarians, I appeal to all concerned, to give us a Law on the Army. If there is a Law, and it is enacted, and if it is sane, then everything in the Army will be normal. There will be Army reform, and it will be easier for us to work. We will always be able to account to the people and say: Here are your sons, here are your people, and the Army will always be the protector of our Fatherland. [end recording]

'Humanitarian Training' Proposed for Servicemen

PM0811140591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent R. Zadunayskiy: "New Subject of Instruction Is Humanitarian Training"]

[Text] At its latest session the USSR Defense Ministry commission for the abolition of military-political organs and the creation of combat training organs and structures for work with the USSR Armed Forces personnel examined and approved the proposals of the commission's working groups to replace the servicemen's political instruction with humanitarian training for the Army and Navy personnel. The USSR Defense Ministry collegium will propose a plan which says in particular that the existing system for the personnel's political training is inadequate for the nature of the processes of renewal and its content is determined by obsolete dogmas, stereotypes, and ideas. That is why it is essential to replace it with a fundamentally new topic of instruction aimed at the servicemen's assimilation of a system of humanitarian knowledge and related military-professional skills and capabilities. It is planned as of the 1992 training year to include "humanitarian training" among the servicemen's instruction topics while ruling out the "Marxist-Leninist training of officers, generals, and admirals,"

"the political study of ensigns and warrant officers," "political classes for soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers," and "the legal training of the personnel." The main task of humanitarian training is to form in the personnel a profound and firm knowledge of the country's military policy and military history and the combat traditions of the Army and Navy, to improve the standard of legal culture of servicemen and to mobilize them to the irreproachable fulfillment of the demands of the military oath, the military statutes, and moral norms of behavior. It has been decided to allocate to humanitarian training the time which used to be given to political classes and legal training and to establish that this subject of instruction is compulsory for all servicemen irrespective of their political views and religious and other convictions. Here generals, admirals, and officers must be assigned at least 28 hours a year to study military law within the system of humanitarian training while ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen on extended service are allocated 24 hours and draftees and military construction workers 30 hours.

The commission also approved the concept of reforming the military mass media. In particular the concept proposes repealing or changing the orders and directives of the USSR Defense Ministry which restrict the professional independence of editorial offices and their rights in resolving cadres questions and in financial and economic activity, increasing the size of payments to writers in the military mass media, and giving editorial offices the right to determine for themselves the size of payments to writers. It is also planned to enter all expenditure on the military mass media into a separate item of the USSR Defense Ministry budget and to determine the procedure for subsidizing publications for a transitional period.

In the process of continuing assessment, the commission examined questions of the appointment of colonels and former military-political workers who hold generals' posts. The majority, who have served long enough to qualify for a pension and who have normal social and consumer conditions for living, are being asked to retire into the reserve in connection with the fact that in the new structures for work with personnel these staff categories are not envisaged.

Interview With Unified Border Troops Chief

PM1111173391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with Colonel General Ilya Yakovlevich Kalinichenko, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the USSR State Border and commander in chief of the Unified Border Troops, by TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy on 6 November; place of interview not given; "There Will Be No Continuous Wire on the Border"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

Colonel General Ilya Yakovlevich Kalinichenko has been appointed by USSR presidential decree to the post of chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the USSR State Border and commander in chief of the Unified Border Troops. On the day of his appointment he gave an interview to TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy.

[Kalinichenko] The Committee for the Protection of the USSR State Border and the Border Troops Command, which includes the commanders of the border troops of the sovereign republics and sectors [napravleniya], is an administrative organ completely unlike the former Main Directorate of Border Troops. Bearing in mind the new political realities, it is intended to safeguard, "serve," and defend the interests of citizens of the sovereign republics (states) and the Union on the state border and in the economic zone.

Border troops are making the transition to guarding the border on the basis of treaty relations that are being defined by the Union and the sovereign republics (states). Provisional agreements have already been concluded with the Baltic states, Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus on the functioning of border combined units and other units on their territories prior to the conclusion of interstate treaties on borders. I am profoundly convinced that border control over compliance with border procedures on land, sea, rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water, and the protection of citizens', organizations', and republics' interests within the limits of the authority vested in us, should form the basis of the protection of the state border. This does not call for continuous engineering and technical facilities on the border, or the use of bulky equipment and heavy armaments.

Our main efforts will be directed toward increasing the effectiveness of our activity on lines of international communications, protecting the USSR's economic zone, and safeguarding the State Border regime. As before, in conjunction with the customs service the border troops will stop attempts to illegally import into the country or export out of it contraband goods, sabotage equipment, weapons, drugs, explosives, and poisonous substances. We have accumulated a fair amount of experience in this field.

Estonia

Supreme Council Continues Work 12 Nov

Discusses Border Decree

OW1211134991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1045 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 11th, the Estonian Supreme Council continued discussion of the draft of the decree "On the Introduction of Temporary Order for Entry and Exit for the Estonian Republic and the Establishment of Border Control."

According to the draft, people and goods going to or from Estonia would only be allowed to cross the border at established border control points. A visa system for entry and exit of the republic would be introduced gradually.

The chairman of the Commission on Defense in the Estonian parliament, Enn Tupp, called on the deputies to approve the draft immediately, since "on the agenda are the sharp issues of economic refugees and also the possibility of Estonia's becoming a transfer point for drug trafficking."

During the debate, it was discovered that some points of the draft are impossible to enforce without accepting additional decrees. For this reason, further discussion was put off until Wednesday [13November].

The General Director of the Department of State Security and Borders of Estonia, Andrus Oovel, suggested delaying the enforcement of the decree for three weeks, so as to give the Estonian Foreign Ministry the chance to inform the corresponding departments in the Russian Republic.

The earliest possible date for the introduction of the decree on border control would be November 15th.

Views Military Service Law

OW1311104591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 12, Estonia's Supreme Council discussed the draft law on military service.

Pending the entry into force of the 1938 Law on Citizenship of the Estonian Republic, the young men who permanently reside in Estonia will be called to military service. Subsequently, only citizens of Estonia will be conscripted.

Out of the 12,000 young men due for call-up, citizenship will be granted to only 6,500. However, the Estonian Army will only need 1,500 men for guarding the frontiers and from 2,000 to 2,500 men for serving in the police.

In preliminary estimate, up to 20 per cent of the young men due for call-up are not fit for military service for health reasons or for religious motives.

The service will last for 18 months. However, the growing number of conscripts may cut down the length of service to 12 months.

The draft law also envisages the possibility of hiring foreign citizens.

The discussion of the law will continue.

Planned Soviet Military Exercises Protested

LD1311110591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0700 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] [First announcer] The board of the Estonian Committee has protested against USSR military exercises at the Aegviidu training center:

[Second announcer] The protest statement, disseminated last night, calls the exercises due to take place at Aegviidu a hostile action against independent Estonia. The board of the Estonian Committee asks: Against whom is this so-called battle preparedness of the Soviet Army, with the participation of the commander of the Baltic Military District, directed? The board of the Estonian Committee calls in its statement for protest rallies, picketing, and other actions to be organized against the arbitrariness of the Soviet Army. An appeal is also made to the governments of democratic states and to the world public. The board of the Estonian Committee appeals to them to demand a prompt and complete withdrawal of USSR Armed Forces from the territory of the Republic of Estonia.

The present protest statement was disseminated to the press last night by Vardo Rumessen, member of the board of the Estonian Committee.

Foreign Affairs Talks Held With Hungary

LD1311025191 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Tallinn, September [as received] 12 (MTI)—Estonian-Hungarian foreign affairs talks were held in Tallinn on Tuesday [12 November].

Attending the discussions were Enn Liimets, Estonian deputy minister of foreign affairs, Ferenc Kontra, Hungarian Foreign Ministry official in charge of Baltic affairs, and Sandor Petroczy, counsellor of the Hungarian Embassy in Helsinki.

The two Hungarian diplomats told MTI correspondents that, due to economic reasons, relations at ambassadorial level were not to be established between the two countries in the near future. Meanwhile, Hungary will be represented in Estonia by its Finnish Embassy.

A consular agreement is under preparation, and an inter-state general agreement is being drafted between Hungary and Estonia, the diplomats said.

Cuban Minister for Economic Relations Visits

OW1311015991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 11th the Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council Arnold Ruutel met with the Cuban minister of foreign economic relations, Ricardo Cabrisas.

According to information received from the Estonian parliament's press center, Ricardo Cabrisas gave Ruutel a personal message from Cuban leader Fidel Castro. The message contained a proposal for the development of cooperation between the two countries.

Cabrisas also discussed Cuba's intention to establish diplomatic relations with Lithuania and to develop trade contacts there as well.

During the visit to Tallinn, the Cuban minister met with the central director of the Estonian foreign trade department, Mehis Pilv. The Cuban suggested signing a trade agreement with the Estonians, which would in particular include the delivery of sugar and citrus plants to Estonia.

According to current information, the trade agreement may be signed today, November 12th.

Tuesday [12 November] the Cuban Minister starts his visit to Lithuania.

Latvia

Citizenship Law Passed in First Reading

OW1311033991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2025 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's Supreme Council passed the law on citizenship in the first reading on Tuesday, and voted for the draft to be published in the press. At the same time, the deputies voiced a great number of reservations, which are to be reflected in the draft before it is submitted for the second reading.

The "Equal Rights" opposition group insisted in particular that the so-called "zero option" be incorporated in the law because—in their view—"it is necessary that the law distingush between the people who were living in Latvia before May 4, 1990, and those who arrived there after that and who were aware that Latvia would have a different legal status."

New Gasoline Prices Effective 13 Nov

LD1311110691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Let us inform you that from tomorrow new liberalized prices have been laid down for gasoline. Brand 76 gasoline will cost two rubles [R], brand 93 will cost R2.2, and brand 95 will cost R2.3. Beginning tomorrow, these will be the new prices for gasoline.

Unfortunately, however, it will not be possible for the time being to buy state gasoline. There are various reasons for this. It is possible that in the near future we will present to you a conversation with the managing director of the Latvian State Oil Enterprise [Latvijas Nafta], Ints Jansons, who will tell you about the situation that has arisen as far as gasoline is concerned.

Shortage Discussed

PM1311145991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Litvinova: "There Is Gasoline—But At a Price"]

[Text] Riga—Commercial service stations in Riga now sell gasoline for three or five rubles [R], depending on the brand. Now nobody dares predict whether or not the republic will be able to secure cheaper fuel in the necessary quantities.

In order to salvage the situation, the government granted commodity exchanges significant rights to purchase gasoline, and also allocated R50 million to the state enterprise "Latviyas Navta" so that it might buy gasoline from commercial organizations. Admittedly, it turned out that the bank is in no position to issue R50 million—the money is simply not available. Gasoline which has been purchased cannot be delivered to Latvia: When the Baltic railroads separated from the Ministry of Railways it was left with virtually no tank-wagons.

Minister of Energy A. Lazdins, speaking in parliament, said: If Russia cannot guarantee the minimum supplies for survival, Latvia will be forced to halt exports of Russian oil through Ventspils Port.

A more optimistic prospect was described by A. Gutmanis, Latvia's deputy minister for the economy. He reported on information received from the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy: In the fourth quarter, Russia will make good the shortfalls in fuel deliveries to Latvia.

Official To Observe Northern Council Session

OW1311025591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2025 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of Latvian Supreme Council's Commission on Ethics and Mandates, Mr. Maris

Budovskis, boarded a flight to the Aland Islands in Finland. According to BF's [BALTFAX] information, he will be taking part in an extraordinary session of the Northern Council as an observer. The session is expected to consider the question of admitting the three Baltic states to the Northern Council.

A "BALTFAX" correspondent has been told by a deputy of the republic's parliament, Mr. Aleksandras Kirsteins, that in order for the Baltic states to become either full or associate members of the Northern Council, the charter of this organisation should be appropriately amended, since its present version does not provide for this possibility.

IMF Gauges Financial, Economic Potential

OW1311041291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2015 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An IMF delegation is now in Riga to gauge the republic's financial position and economic potential. The information to be collected will be used to calculate the amount of Latvia's entrance contribution to the IMF. The findings of the team will be used by IMF's experts to draw up recommendations for the republic's authorities on how to adjust its banking and financial systems to correspond to IMF's standards.

In an interview to the "DIENA" newspaper, Mr. Maris Gailis, director general of the Department of External Economic Ties of the republic's government, said that the experts will be working in the republic intermittently until the spring of 1992.

Lithuania

'Paradoxical' Comment on Troop Withdrawal Noted

LD1311111891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By correspondent Janina Mecelicaite at the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius]

[Text] Today Audrius Azubalis, Supreme Council press spokesman, commented on a report issued by the TASS news agency quoting a statement made by a representative of the USSR Defense Ministry Press Center that a scheduled withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltic states is not to be expected.

Audrius Azubalis said that this statement indicates that interference by the occupational regime is continuing. He said that it was paradoxical that such a comment could be made by the representatives of a country which has recognized us. This also runs counter to the norms of international law. Audrius Azubalis expressed the hope that contacts with the Soviet Union would sooner or later be established and that negotiations would begin.

Security Forces Report Subversive Activities

LD1311042691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Enemies of our independence and our state who yearn to return to the former Soviet system are rearing their heads, lurking behind bushes, and employing various means to destabilize our life. Juozas Matonis, acting internal affairs minister of the Republic of Lithuania, General Prosecutor Arturas Paulauskas, and Security Department [words indistinct] provided some comprehensive information to media personnel and answered their questions. Matonis spoke about this:

[Begin Matonis recording] The Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs and other services, along with those whose representatives are together in this [words indistinct], have been following for some time activity within the territory of the Republic of Lithuania that may be characterized as being basic terrorist activity. [passage omitted]

Various anti-Lithuanian groups are gathering, among them those who participated in the earlier events. They are reading their underground structure. They are planning the forms and methods of operation, contacts with the [word indistinct]. They have established contacts with communist units located in other former Soviet Union republics. They seek to acquire professionalism and to establish a base of action within our territory that would be political as well as terrorist in nature. [passage omitted]

National defense and customs officials tell of a passenger car bearing Finnish license plates, which was occupied by three men dressed in what may be described as military-style clothing, with civilian attire worn over it. The officials became suspicious, having noticed certain objects in possession of the car's occupants. After a more thorough search, one of the men jumped from the car; another grabbed an automatic weapon that had been there [word indistinct]. The situation was complicated when a man threw three grenades from the car. Two grenades exploded. The other failed to explode and was later found, but thanks to quick, heroic actions by the border and customs service personnel, the remaining two passengers were disarmed. The third managed to escape. Weapons including an automatic weapon, a pistol, grenades, a Soviet-made wireless radio, and a Czechoslovak-made wireless radio were found. Some documents and notes were found. Later the third man was apprehended. [Words indistinct] four individuals have been apprehended. The investigation continues.

Several other things happened to confirm my earlier statement. In Vilnius, anti-Lithuania leaflets printed by an underground press were found, urging a fight against the existing order in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Searches are continuing, and weapons, bullets, various reading materials, and other things have been seized. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Terrorist Group Already Functioning

LD1311022991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Officials of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs and Procuracy staff members conducted approximately 70 searches last night in Vilnius and the neighboring Salcininkai, Svencionys, and Trakai Rayons. Both the evidence collected and the previous information make it possible to assert that a subversive terrorist organization is being established and is already beginning to function in Lithuania. This was stated at a news conference this evening by acting Internal Affairs Minister Matonis, General Prosecutor Arturas Paulauskas, and Zegelis, deputy director of the State Security Department. According to these officials, the departments they head have been already observing for some time the efforts that can be characterized as [word indistinct] terrorist activity. [passage omitted]

A tape recording of an appeal attempted to be disseminated by radio on 6 November urges a struggle against the Lithuanian state order. This appeal is in the investigators' possession. According to the officials at the news conference, the evidence in their possession compels them not to question the political nature of the terrorist subversive activity. This is not denied even by criminals involved themselves. According to General Prosecutor Arturas Paulauskas, members of the group follow a communist idealogy or a world view with communist ideology mixed in.

Those in charge of protecting law and order can only speculate, for the time being, about the numbers involved in the terrorist underground and its level of organization, but there is virtually no doubt that the group is strong and that its structures are continuing to be developed, since ties are possible with similar groups within the other former Soviet Union republics.

It is also known that the KGB, Special Purpose Militia Detachment, and Communist Party members representing those [word indistinct] who were preparing a revolution in January and August and who now seek to return Lithuania to the Soviet Union are part of this group. [Words indistinct] avoids talking about direct ties between the group and Moscow, although it is known to be carrying out the directives of former Lithuanian Communist Party leaders who still continue to hide on Soviet Union territory.

An appeal to the Lithuanian people by Mykolas Burokevicius, former Lithuanian Communist Party section leader, was discovered along with the tape of the radio appeal.

Juozas Matonis, chief of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, speculates that subversive activity is not limited to [words indistinct] the Baltic states. One gets the impression that an attempt is being made to create a unified culture that will supposedly become a great force within the entire territory of the former Soviet Union, entering an arena [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Theft Reported at Former KGB Headquarters

LD1311122791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 0000 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] The Lithuanian daily RESPUBLIKA affirms that there were four cases of theft and break-in of sealed premises in the former headquarters of the KGB in Vilnius last week, yet it adds that all that may have been a fake.

The (?third) break-in was reported on Friday [8 November]. Although the sealed-up door of the corridor was not broken the seals were torn from the doors of the office rooms in that corridor. To the knowledge of the newspaper, on that same day, Friday 8 November, Lithuanian Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius gave orders not to let anyone in or out of the building, but Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila, who is also director general of the State Security Department, overruled the minister's orders.

The RESPUBLIKA daily also described a curious episode which occurred Sunday evening, when documents were handed down by somebody from a window on the ground floor of the KGB building to four men standing in the street. Yet a high ranking official of the National Defense Ministry, who preferred to remain unidentified, said last week's break-ins and thefts were only an imitation of these. He told the newspaper very little equipment remained in the former KGB headquarters. Everything had been taken away before, so there was nothing else to steal now.

We shall settle this issue after I hear concrete remarks what was done improperly, said the Lithuanian vice premier Zigmas Vaisvila, answering a question in parliament today. Who must resign for the disorder in guarding the former KGB headquarters in Vilnius? For more than two hours and a half the vice premier had to explain to MPs [members of parliament] the causes of the disorder.

According to Zigmas Vaisvila, the mess was chiefly caused by lack of strict observance of instructions from the very start of the takeover of the KGB headquarters under Lithuanian jurisdiction. He admitted that certain institutions had been given permission to take documents out of the KGB building, yet he remarked that in each case the documentation taken out was registered. All other facts are now being investigated into by the prosecutor's office. Legal proceedings have been started and those guilty will have to face the law, said vice premier Zigmas Vaisvila.

Cooperation Protocol With Baltic Fleet Signed

OW1311095991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 11, in Vilnius, Vice-Premier Algis Dobrovolskas and commander of the Baltic Fleet, Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, signed a protocol on social and economic cooperation between the Lithuanian Republic and the Baltic Fleet.

According to this document, during conversion, the fleet's immovable property, equipment and means of transportation will be used by Lithuania.

The protocol also envisages assistance which the Baltic Fleet could give Lithuania in exploring its water area.

Admiral Yegorov believes that the protocol is up to the current political situation and will help estalbish normal relations between Lithuania and the Baltic Fleet.

Supreme Council Chairman To Meet Pope in Rome

OW1211054291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press secretary for the Lithuanian parliament, Audrius Azubalis, stated at a briefing in Vilnius on November 11th that the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, during his international trip would meet with the head of the Roman-Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II on November 19th at the Vatican.

Landsbergis is presently in the U.S. and will go to Italy following his stay there.

The press secretary also informed journalists that the Cuban minister of foreign trade, Ricardo Cabrisas, would be in Vilnius on November 12th. Azhubalis noted that the minister "is carrying with him a personal message for Landsbergis from Cuban leader Fidel Castro." During his visit to Lithuania Mr. Cabrisas will meet with the prime mnister of the republic, Gediminas Vagnorius, and the minister of the economy Albertas Shivenas.

Chechen-Ingush Situation

Tu-154 Hijacking Linked to Events in Republic

Plane Lands at Ankara

LD0911173591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Nov (TASS)—Today extremists seized a Tu-154 aircraft of the Mineralnyye Vody aviation department with 171 passengers on board which was flying the Mineralnyye Vody-Yekaterinburg route.

The Public Relations Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic KGB reports that at 1226 the aircraft left Mineralnyye Vody airport. After an hour one of the passengers, who gave his name as Satuyev Said Ali, put forward on behalf of a group of four people a verbal demand for the aircraft to change course and fly to Ankara. He threatened to use firearms and grenades. He explained the demand to fly abroad as the desire "to put things to rights in Checheno-Ingushetia."

The crew informed the ground services of the situation on board and entered into negotiations with the extremist with the aim of getting him to abandon his criminal plans. Having assessed the situation, the crew commander took the decision to fly to Turkey. At 1611 the aircraft landed at Ankara airport. The passengers and crew were unharmed. Negotiations are under way on returning the crew and passengers.

Hijackers Refuse Official Talks

LD0911183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Nov (TASS)—The hijacking of the Tu-154 airplane to Turkey has political aims, the Public Relations Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic KGB reports.

The group of hijackers, individuals of Chechen nationality protesting against the introduction of the state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia, is demanding that a news conference be held in Ankara without delay. Once the world has been informed—in their words—about the true situation in the republic, they are ready to leave for Groznyy and to dispatch the airplane to Yekaterinburg from there, having released the hostages.

The hijackers have refused to hold talks with representatives of the General Consulate in Ankara.

Hijackers Agree To Return Plane

LD0911200891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1927 GMT 9 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yalchin Ali-Zade]

[Text] Ankara, 9 Nov (TASS)—The hijacked Soviet Tu-154 passenger plane with 171 passengers and crew on board is at present at the Ankara airport of Esenboga. The hijackers have categorically refused to enter into contact with Soviet representatives, but as Erdogan Sakhinoglu, governor of Ankara District, stated, it has been possible to reach agreement with the hijackers for the airliner to be returned to the USSR after being refueled. The hijackers have put forward the condition that the plane be sent to Groznyy. It is now being refueled. Emergency security measures have been taken at Esenboga airport. Representatives of the Turkish authorities, with the help of the airport's air traffic control service, are maintaining communications with the plane, which landed in Ankara tonight. According to the information available, the passengers were not injured.

This is the eighth Soviet plane which has been hijacked to Turkey over the last 20 years. All the previous ones were returned to the Soviet Union.

Aircraft Returned to Groznyy

LD1011012991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0045 GMT 10 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Rudenko]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Nov (TASS)—The seizure and hijacking on Saturday [9 November] of a Tu-154 aircraft on its way from Mineralnyye Vody to Ekaterinburg with 171 passengers did not, fortunately, have a tragic end. The aircraft has returned to Groznyy.

This TASS correspondent was told by the civil aviation central control office that the airline landed at Groznyy airport at 2315. All passengers and crew members have been released. They will continue their interrupted trip to Ekaterinburg on an aircraft sent for them from Rostov. The hijackers of the aircraft are to meet the investigating bodies. Only stewardess Kozlovskaya has not returned from Ankara. She started to hemorrhage, and is now under the care of Turkish doctors.

Supreme Soviet Debates Situation in Republic

10 Nov Proceedings

LD1011224191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2120 GMT on 10 November broadcast a recording of the proceedings of the 10 November session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet held in Moscow.

Khasbulatov invited deputies to register and outlined the agenda, which was adopted. An unidentified deputy proposed that this should be discussed in closed session. Deputy Poptsov supported the idea of an open session. The proposal for a closed session was voted down.

Khasbulatov then invited Rutskoy to speak: Rutskoy began his report by saying that the law is the foundation of democracy, the law under which all are equal. He quoted from an article in GROZNENSKAYA PRAVDA published in September, stating that the laws of the

RSFSR operate in Chechen-Ingushetia. He outlined what has happened since then:

On 10 September Burbulis' mission went to Groznyy; the subsequent mission was led by Rutskoy himself. From 8-10 October Rutskoy met Dudayev to discuss the situation. Various groups of deputies have been there and they all have called for the stabilization of the Chechen-Ingush republic. On 19 October the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia was reported as continuing to deteriorate. Dudayev was vigorously pursuing his quest for power. He was given an ultimatum to end his illegal activities within three days.

On 24 October a decision was made to call elections in place of those scheduled for 27 October. The situation continued to deteriorate, and a state of emergency was ordered. Rutskoy proposed that the president's decree on the state of emergency be confirmed with the exception of point five dealing with the curfew. At 2134 GMT Rutskoy ended his speech.

Then Varennikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, reported on the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia. He ended his speech at 2135 GMT.

Varrenikov was followed by Viktor Leonidovich Sheynis, not further identified, who spoke of the crucial nature of the decision that has to be made. Dudayev's actions are undoubtedly unconstitutional and dangerous, both from the point of view of events in Chechen-Ingushetia itself and also from the point of view of a possible chain reaction. Rutskoy's thesis—that the law must triumph—is correct, but how can one bring this about? It can be done by the decree under consideration. Dudayev's group controls a majority of the territory of the Chechen Republic, and much force will be needed to put an end to this. That could set a different chain reaction in progress. Unfortunately the actions that have been taken so far bear the stamp of improvization. We have to choose the best course of action, Sheynis says. He added that the Democratic Russia movement yesterday adopted the appeal to Yeltsin to repeal the decree.

At 2140 GMT Deputy Aslakhanov from Checheno-Ingushetia recalled his visits there. He supported the democratic reforms that were wanted there. Checheno-Ingushetia was among the first to say no to the August putsch.

At 2141 GMT Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray said that the decree is well founded. What lessons do we draw from this? We are reaping the first fruits of duality of power. Duality of power will lead to the end of the Russian state. What do we do with the state of emergency? It must be revoked but as a result of talks with the sides involved and not by a decision of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet is under an obligation to change the list of measures envisaged in the state of emergency. Shakhray listed changes he feels should be made.

An unidentified deputy then addressed the session. He recalled having warned Yeltsin 18 months ago that one day the autonomous entities would use the same methods against the Russian leadership that Russia used against the Union leadership.

At 2148 GMT Khasbulatov began his own speech. We carry responsibility for the destiny of the country, and courage is needed. Almost 20 groups of deputies have been to Chechen-Ingushetia, along with representatives of many other organizations.

At 2149 GMT a deputy from the floor asked that we hear the Russian prosecutor general. Stepankov elucidated the situation. He has been to Chechen-Ingushetia too. On many points he agreed with the history of the development of the problem as outlined by Rutskoy. The situation arose in Chechen-Ingushetia in which there was effectively no state body. Great efforts have been made to reach a compromise but without result. We have to think things out very carefully.

At 2156 GMT Deputy Gleb Yakunin said that all the peoples of the Caucasus will perceive our action as action against them. With this decree we are raising the level of their national feeling. We have to be realists. We have to admit our mistakes and revoke the decree, he said.

Deputy Poptsov took the floor. We have to win time, he said.

At 2158 GMT Khasbulatov declared a break, and the recording was over.

11 Nov Proceedings

LD1111220291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2024 GMT on 11 November broadcast a recording of the proceedings of the 11 November session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

The recording began by showing RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov opening the session which resumed from 10 November. He called upon Deputy Aslakhanov to speak. Aslakhanov read a draft resolution that has been prepared for consideration by the Supreme Soviet session.

Khasbulatov put to a vote the question of whether or not the proposed draft can be accepted as a basis: 126 voted in favor, 21 voted against, and 42 abstained. A deputy from Rostov Oblast proposed a third option: that since a subject of the RSFSR has crudely violated Russian laws a decision should now be made to exclude that subject from Russia. This could lead to thousands of refugees, but thousands of refugees are better than thousands of corpses.

Khasbulatov asked for specific observations on points of the draft resolution. Deputy Dmitriy Volkogonov, speaking from the floor, proposed several changes to the proposed wording of the draft resolution.

An unnamed deputy proposed minor alterations to the wording of the draft resolution. He then proposed a fifth

point: that the Supreme Soviet hold a session in Groznyy; and a final point: that measures be taken to prevent criminals working with Dudayev from entering RSFSR territory.

Another unidentified deputy supported Volkogonov's proposed changes to the wording.

Deputy Varov proposed that point one of the draft resolution be removed and that alterations be made to the wording of some other points. Varov also proposed that the Supreme Soviet appeal to the people of Chechen-Ingushetia to hold a referendum on their status and on the functions of Dudayev. Varov sees this as the only solution to the problem.

Deputy Aleroyev, speaking from the platform, traced the history of what he calls the tragedy of the Chechen and Ingush peoples going back to the last century. The first refugees were Chechens and Ingushs from Kazakhstan. This is where General Dudayev finds his social base—in the poor treatment that Chechens and Ingush people received in the past. We have tried to convince people that since 21 August Russia is different. The federation can only be preserved on the basis of constitutional rights for everyone; otherwise we are talking about just another empire. We cannot go on living with the complexes of the past. We cannot pander to the ambitions of individual leaders. Dudayev deserves respect as an army man, as someone who has achieved success in his military career, but if he thinks he can win through military might, then he proves that he has no standing as a politician. Aleroyev appealed to the Russian president and to the Supreme Soviet to revoke the state of emergency.

At 2047 GMT, Khasbulatov put the first point to a vote. The deputies voted to exclude the first point. Khasbulatov put the amendments to a vote. They were adopted.

An unidentified deputy, speaking from the floor, proposed that no resolution be adopted. Deputy Gorelov proposed that a referendum be held on the question of whether or not Chechen-Ingushetia should be expelled from the RSFSR. This was voted down.

Deputy Lukin, speaking from the floor, proposed that an RSFSR delegation be appointed to conduct talks with all main political trends in Chechen-Ingushetia.

Another unnamed deputy proposed that no blockade of the territory of Chechen-Ingushetia be permitted. This was voted on and rejected.

Another unidentified deputy called upon deputies not to vote for the resolution.

At 2054, RSFSR Vice President Rutskoy, speaking from the floor, expressed support for the proposal by Lukin that an RSFSR delegation be assembled to talk to all the main political trends in Chechen-Ingushetia. This was voted on and adopted.

Rutskoy proposed further that the mandate and the composition of the delegation be confirmed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. This was voted on and accepted.

An unidentified deputy proposed that measures be taken to prevent the movement of weapons into and out of Chechen-Ingushetia. This was voted on and adopted.

The resolution as a whole was voted on and adopted. There were 177 votes in favor, four against, and 15 abstentions.

At 2058 GMT, the announcer read the text of the resolution in the form in which it was adopted.

The program ended at 2059 GMT.

Further on Parliament Debate

PM1211092591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observers Inna Muravyeva and Robert Minasov report from the White House: "Step Dictated by Logic of Events. Russian Parliament Debates Situation in Chechen-Ingush Republic"]

[Excerpts] **Day One**

On 10 November the Supreme Soviet was urgently called to a session. There was just one point to consider: "On the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President's Decree No. 178 of 7 November 1991 'On the Introduction of a State of Emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Republic.'" The Supreme Soviet was given 72 hours to reach a decision on this decree. The previous day, the situation in the republic had been examined by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

A report was delivered by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. He virtually repeated what was said in the document entitled "Chronicle of the Conflict" distributed to deputies before the session. Referring to the document, one of those present asked Rutskoy: "Conflict between whom?" Aleksandr Vladimirovich replied: "In that case, just change it to 'Chronicle of the Conflict in the Chechen-Ingush Republic.'" Whether it was a question of the vice president being tired (he admitted he had "been on his feet for four days") or whether, as many deputies noted, it was a question of "neither the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, or Rutskoy having complete information," the report produced a sense of uncertainty for most deputies, as had the secret telegram from Groznyy to the president and vice president. Here is what it said:

"In connection with the extremely complex and heated situation in Groznyy and in the republic as a whole, in light of the continuing attempts by All-National Chechen Congress gunmen to seize vitally important buildings, and in view of the escalation of armed terrorism, we ask you, on receipt of this coded message, to take immediate measures to protect buildings and the population and to restore constitutional order.

"Otherwise events in the republic could deteriorate in unpredictable fashion.

"I insist yet again that the measures envisaged by the law for such situations be taken before zero (0000) hours on 8 November this year at the latest.

[Signed] "A. Arsanov, RSFSR presidential representative in the Chechen-Ingush Republic"

The deputies continued to insist that "the decree was a mistake." Here is the opinion of Supreme Soviet member Sergey Sirotkin on this score:

"It is a very good thing that, unlike the former Union law on the state of emergency, the Russian law lays down a procedure whereby a decision to introduce a state of emergency has to be ratified by a Supreme Soviet session. I think that this is the first example that even in our extremely disordered state certain democratic mechanisms can and should work. It is quite obvious that neither the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, or Rutskoy have access to full information. This was the reason why the mistaken political decision was adopted. Yes, there were blatant violations of the law during the elections in Chechen-Ingushetia, and the validity of President Dudayev's election is in some doubt. We should have had daily information and analyzed how this process was developing. This would have prevented us from finding ourselves facing these spontaneous, ill-conceived decisions. I think the state of emergency decree should be rescinded. It is incapable of bringing either stability or reconciliation, and we should remember that the Congress Executive Committee is a reality, that Dudayev (whatever your attitude to him may be) is a reality. We need to arrange negotiations because we are not talking about a confrontation between President Dudayev and Vice President Rutskoy, but about the fate of a people." [passage omitted]

Pondering on the reasons behind the exacerbation of interethnic conflicts, Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Human Rights Committee, stated in an interview with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA: "I think that this situation was provoked to a certain extent by the imperfect law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples. The thrust of the law was very fair, but it is totally unsuitable and was not worked out from a legal standpoint. As soon as territorial rehabilitation was included in Article 6, it was immediately clear that a turn of events such as we have today was to be expected. We tried to address this and made amendments. We emphasized that in order to examine the fate of each people a commission would have to be set up to closely study the arguments of all interested parties, but by then no one was listening." [passage omitted]

Day Two

The direct verdict offered by USSR People's Deputy Academician Aleksey Yemelyanov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences—"they screwed up"—does describe the results of yesterday's RSFSR Supreme Soviet session, albeit not completely.

On the one hand, there is no doubt that the introduction of the state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia was both a hasty and ill-conceived step in light of its consequences. On the other, by its decision to repeal the president's decree introducing a state of emergency in this republic, the parliament has—whether it likes it or not—set a precedent whose consequences are yet to unfold and will probably develop further in other regions, not just the North Caucasus. Stating that there were massive violations of the RSFSR Constitution and RSFSR laws in Checheno-Ingushetia, the parliament, by repealing the decree, has essentially embarked on a path of legislative nihilism.

It seems that certain politicians in Boris Yeltsin's immediate entourage lack the necessary diplomatic flexibility or, perhaps, even the necessary sophistication. Instead of looking for the optimum solution to this seemingly hopeless situation, they prefer to shoot from the hip.

You have to agree that president-cum-general Dzhakhar Dudayev has been far more productive and—you have to hand it to him—tactically clever in skillfully playing on the dramatic reversals suffered by the Chechen people and within a short period of time and not without "help" from certain major Russian leaders, becoming a national hero and a "victim" of the Russian empire.

Dudayev the general is unpredictable and therefore dangerous. The greatest danger is that under these circumstances he has nowhere to retreat—and will therefore fight to the last cartridge or the last Chechen. The other problem is that in the event of strong-arm pressure from the Russian authorities, the North Caucasus peoples would rally even more around the brave general and support for him would increase.

Hence there is one conclusion—to localize the seat of tension as far as possible to ensure that it does not spill over into neighboring regions, since each of them could find their own general-turned-president.

What has happened as a result of these ill-considered actions? Just what was to be expected: As a result of an acute and protracted debate yesterday the Russian Supreme Soviet rescinded the president's decree "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Republic."

As a "consolation prize" for the compilers of the decree the parliament amended the draft resolution with a point proposed by Sergey Shakhray. It stated that a special regime would come into force for entry to and exit from Checheno-Ingushetia and for movements of weapons in and out.

Very scathing statements were made at the session not only about General Dudayev but also about the Russian Supreme Soviet, which, in Nikolay Travkin's opinion, would ultimately destroy Russia through its actions.

An extreme proposal was also voiced that Checheno-Ingushetia be expelled from the RSFSR in view of the

fact that the Russian Constitution and Russian laws were being flouted there. It was not passed.

What we have already mentioned was passed. The RSFSR president was let down, and this at an extremely tense time in his activity, at a time when he is so much in need of help and support.

USSR Deputy Minister on 'Struggle for Power'

LD1011220591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Interview with Militia Major General Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kulikov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by program announcer Yuliya Chertkova in Moscow; from the "Ostankino Radio Studio on the Line" phone-in program—live]

[Text] [Chertkova] Well then, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, my first question is about Checheno-Ingushetia. I think that people would not understand us if we failed to start with this issue. What is the situation there, and what is the assessment of it at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs?

[Kulikov] As a rule, the leaders of our system are always asked for an assessment. There are really two aspects to our assessment. The first is that the political instability and the fierce fundamental struggle for power in this region, which has involved a considerable proportion of the population, have complicated the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia. The chief instability and the main destabilizing factor have been the diarchy that exists there. On the one hand there is the Chechens' desire to set up their own separate republic, and on the other the unwillingness to consider the positions of the Ingush and the Russian-speaking—or Russian—people living there, and there are a fairly large number of these.

Stemming from the realities of this fragile balance and the explosive atmosphere in the area, we had regarded political means as the only way to resolve the conflict, but we have been hampered as a rule by the predictions, political forces, and wishes of certain people to stand at the head of this or that movement. This has been explosive every time.

[Chertkova] Nevertheless—even prior to the low point, so to speak, of these events—were your interregional militia forces located there in Checheno-Ingushetia?

[Kulikov] No, but you see the complement of personnel laid down for any autonomous republic, for any kray or oblast, was located there in Checheno-Ingushetia. Escort subunits were located there, as it does have its own system of corrective labor establishments there. There were also militia subunits there within the complement of the Chechen-Ingush Ministry of Internal Affairs, but while the matter was being tackled politically, there were absolutely no other forces located there.

When the knockout came—and there were statements by Dudayev as candidate for the presidency and then as the elected president, but then by a decision of the Supreme Soviet...

[Chertkova, interrupting] And now no longer as the elected president...

[Kulikov, continuing] ...those elections were canceled. Then there was the statement by the Ingush side laying claim to the territory of North Ossetia at which point there was, indeed, the beginning of a maelstrom, into which peaceful inhabitants might fall, both in the region of the Caucasus and in other spots. It was then, apparently, that the president of the Russian Federation made a decision to issue a decree and impose a state of emergency in the territory of Checheno-Ingushetia, in order to prevent the possibility of clashes between the Chechen people, the Ingush people, and the Russian people—and one cannot disregard the Cossack factor. After all, you saw already yesterday on television...

[Chertkova, interrupting] Yes, of course.

[Kulikov, continuing] ...that the Cossacks had assembled for their Krug [traditional assembly] and had started to set up militia and other posts in Checheno-Ingushetia. In our opinion, the decision to introduce a state of emergency is absolutely correct. Another thing, tactically, would be needed to resolve the issue. It is from this standpoint, then, that the government and leadership of the Russian Federation and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the agreement of the country's president, have sent insignificant forces there—first to protect the buildings of the law enforcement bodies, to protect Checheno-Ingushetia's power lines, and for our subunits in a critical situation to become a barrier as they are at present between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Karabakh, and as indeed the army is standing in a number of positions where they are forced to be on the receiving end of bullets from various sides.

That is to say that the troops and subunits have been sent there only from these standpoints, but again, in the North Caucasus mountains there are mountain people, and at the critical moment, when the introduction of the state of emergency was made public and in addition subunits of interrepublican forces and forces of the Russian Federation's Interior Ministry arrived there, the unity factor began to work. In addition there was very strong ideological pressure from religious forces, which right away began calling on people to repulse the offensive against their independence.

[Chertkova] In other words, you have been exposed to danger again, have you not?

[Kulikov] No, not exposed. We are doing our duty. We are obeying orders, but we have no wish to obey orders such as the ones which were issued some time ago in Tbilisi, Baku, etc. I am convinced that the USSR minister of internal affairs and the presidents of the Union and Russia, are people who would never take steps that

would harm peaceful citizens. Therefore a decision was made to send troops there, with the simple aim of keeping the sides apart.

The religious factor and the unity factor immediately brought a huge number of people into the city. The headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was blockaded. The airport terminal at Groznyy was blockaded. All the roads were blocked by trucks. The railway line was blocked in four places to prevent reinforcements being brought in for the armed forces and to prevent the number of Interior Ministry troops there from being increased further. Basically, we were not trying to build up our presence at that time. While a crowd of people, including women and children, sealed off very important points in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia for an entire night, the USSR minister of internal affairs kept in constant touch with our detachments. We did not move from the spot. We awaited a political decision. We awaited a peaceful solution.

In general, having weighed everything and considered the fragile nature of the hornets' nest, which could not be entered without getting into trouble, we decided—the minister held a conference of the leadership early on the morning of 9 November—it was decided that the problem could only be solved politically, through talks with the elders, with respected people, with the highlanders, etc. Under no circumstances was force to be applied. In this situation the Interior Ministry detachments and interrepublican forces displayed restraint. In this situation not a single shot was fired, either by our side or by the people who were blockading the buildings, even though there were thousands of them and many were armed. In other words, the agreement under which we were to withdraw our detachments from the Ministry of Internal Affairs building worked.

Suffice it to say that there were about 200 servicemen in the Ministry of Internal Affairs building headed by General Ungafarov. After the representative of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president and the Russian minister of internal affairs renounced his powers, our servicemen were evacuated to the airport. The crowd immediately withdrew to the square. Well, viewers in the country witnessed subsequent events in yesterday's editions of the "Vremya" [as heard] program and the "Vesti" program.

I have only dwelt on this episode in order to help people understand the complex and critical nature of the situation. I consider that the minister, the leadership of Russia, and the president of the USSR have all acted very correctly in the present situation.

[Chertkova] All the same, one feels uneasy, I think, when armed men are brought in and are forced to hold the very talks which politicians should be holding. Armed men should hold their fire and withdraw. Otherwise, once they have come in with their weapons, they are regarded as a source of some danger. Here we have armed formations arriving on the scene, setting their weapons aside, and getting involved in talks which are the responsibility of politicians.

Decision Not To Use Interior Troops Cited

OW1211165391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A statement by the USSR Interior Ministry's Public Relations Center made public in Moscow on Tuesday [12 November] says the decision not to use interior troops to settle the conflict in Checheno-Ingushetia was taken on the morning of November 9 at an emergency meeting of top ministry officials.

The statement says the real situation in Checheno-Ingushetia at the time as "extremely explosive", which gave the interior troop command reasons to conclude that "any confrontational action in Checheno-Ingushetia might entail an outburst of violence on the part of North Caucasians and lead to even graver consequences than those of the incidents in Tbilisi, Baku or Vilnius."

Parliament Sets Up Customs, Border Service

OW1211181491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of the Chechen Republic decided in Groznyy Tuesday [12 November] to set up a republican border and customs service and form a special regiment subordinated to the republic's defense ministry. By President Dzhakhar Dudayev's decree, the post of defense minister will go one of these days to Yusup Soslambekov.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that many parliamentarians insisted that Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy publicly excuse himself before the Chechens for his statement that Chechen national guards had been hiding behind the backs of women, children and elderly people. This is seen in Groznyy as a very serious insult.

The organizers of Chechnia's first women's battalion appeared on local TV Monday [11 November], promising that the battalion would come into action and open "a second front" only after the last male Chechen was killed.

Rector Kidnapped; Situation 'Remains Tense'

LD1211201891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The situation in Chechen-Ingush remains tense. Despite the Chechen Republic minister's statement to the effect that crime is not rising here, unidentified

persons arrived by vehicle at the main entrance of the State University today and kidnapped Viktor Kankalik, rector of the higher educational establishment. Prorector Abdul Khamid Mesliyev, who tried to defend him, was fatally wounded and died in the hospital. The kidnapped rector's fate is unknown.

The staff of the telephone exchange has been on strike since morning. They demand that the hooligans who beat up their colleague be punished and safe working conditions be provided. These and other incidents are not being linked with the political situation in the republic, althouth possibilities of provocations are not excluded. The National Guard—incidentally, there was an attempt on its commander's life the other day—has stepped up vigilance.

Guardsmen detained a KGB major in civilian clothing in Liberty Square today; he had his identity card and official weapon on him. The guardsmen believe that the KGB does not operate any longer on Chechen Republic territory and its personnel have no right to carry weapons.

Crime Situation 'More Complicated'

LD1211231491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Report from Groznyy by correspondent A. Barkatov from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Barkhatov] Naturally the time has not yet come to sum up the situation. Nonetheless, against the background of the undoubtedly sincere nationwide outburst the crime situation in the town is becoming markedly more complicated. Last night on this very spot four unknown people killed the pro-rector of the university with a round of shots from a machine gun. The rector has been kidnapped. This morning the authorities presented the people with a republican OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] of a renewed composition.

[M. Abazov, commander of the Chechen-Ingush Republic OMON] We will maintain law and order because very many crimes are being committed now by people pretending that they are guards or somebody like that.

[Barkhatov] Incidentally the first detainees appeared at that same rally.

[Unidentified OMON officer] KGB Major (Viktor Nikolayevich Tolstinev) was detained amid the crowd.

[(Tolstinev)] I did not sniff anything out amid the crowd.

[OMON officer] He will be judged by the people of the Chechen Republic.

[Barkhatov] I am sorry, a court or the people?

[OMON officer] The people, naturally the people.

[Barkhatov] For a long time people have not been shocked by weapons in the streets, and we stress that there are no facts to show that the self-defense detachments and guards that have spontaneously emerged are involved in any kind of crimes.

Last night I managed to meet with one of those who had escaped from the Naurskaya colony. I will remind you that 625 people managed to escape the day before yesterday.

[Unidentified escaped prisoner] If today's authorities headed by Dudayev demand it, we will all go back there.

[Barkhatov] Yet another piece of news. Gafarov, deputy commander of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, is leaving Groznyy; it is known that it was at his command that the special subunits of Internal Troops were withdrawn from the republic.

[Gafarov] Irrespective of what shape the situation takes in the future, I think that I acted correctly. Once again it would have been the second Caucasus war.

Transportation Damage Assessed

OW1311012691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Federation's Interior Ministry's Centre for Transportation reported on Tuesday [12 November] that unlawful actions on the transportation routes of the Chechen-Ingush Republic inflicted colossal damage on the economy of the Russian Federation and other sovereign republics.

According to it, the section of the North-Caucasian railway running across the Chechen-Ingush Republic is being removed and barriers are being raised on the rails. All this delays the movement of freight trains (on November 9, 98 trains and on November 10, 92 trains were delayed). Dozens of passenger trains are kept on railway stations for hours.

The absence of aviation fuel in almost all airports of the North Caucasian region has upset the schedule of flights.

Groznyy 'Still Uneasy'

PM1211165591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Kazikhanov report: "Still Uneasy in Groznyy"—final paragraph is IZVESTIYA addition to report]

[Text] The situation in Checheno-Ingushetia remains tense. Dzhakhar Dudayev, who phoned Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia on 12 November to consolidate the two republics' efforts in the event of continued pressure from Moscow, stated that people would not disperse until the official document repealing the decree arrives from B. Yeltsin. President Dudayev also reported that the republic will not hold any talks with Russia until the Chechen Republic's independence is recognized.

It has become known that D. Dudayev has instructed the Chechen Republic Prosecutor's Office to institute criminal proceedings against R. Khasbulatov, A. Rutskoy, and A. Dunayev. This euphoria cannot be seen as anything but alarming. The Chechen Republic's parliament and president still have a chance to influence the thousands of people assembled in the square, but it is already being admitted that life in the republic has been paralyzed: Apart from the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], not a single executive or national economic organ is operating. Oil refineries and the machine building complex are almost at a standstill—raw materials are not coming in, and finished products are not moving out because rail lines have been blocked. There is already a bread and sugar shortage in Groznyy.

"It is an extremely difficult situation," USSR People's Deputy L. Magomadov told me. "Talk about rivers of oil which will allegedly make the Chechens rich is all bluff. The Chechens' only advantage is their hands and their toughness in life's battles, but it would be suicidal to live in an isolated system, as Dudayev is proposing. Only the integrity of Checheno-Ingushetia will allow us to get out of this highly difficult situation."

The fact that tonnes of weapons have reached the republic by unknown routes from unknown sources is worrying. The crime situation is deteriorating. The 720 prisoners who escaped from the Groznyy Detention Center and the Naurskiy Camp have spread throughout Checheno-Ingushetia.

"The situation is complex because the MVD is the only state organ remaining on Chechen-Ingush territory," Minister A. Alsultanov told me. "Lots of armed people are roaming the city. We have agreed with the Chechen Republic parliament to start the process of having people hand in their weapons as soon as the Yeltsin decree is repealed. We think that 60-70 percent will hand in their weapons voluntarily. The other weapons will have to be confiscated. I think that as soon as the state of emergency is lifted, there will be no more armed men on the streets. As for the prisoners, it has yet to be determined just who released them and created the conditions for their escape from the camp and the jail. One thing is clear: This was done intentionally with a view to destabilizing the situation. Today I spoke with the prisoners' leaders: They have submitted a list of 200 names of people who will return to the camp voluntarily. The others will have to be returned by force."

According to information reaching the White House from Checheno-Ingushetia, there has been a provocation at the State University. Armed men broke into the office of Rector V.A. Kankalik and started shooting. The rector was shielded by Prorector Bisliyev, a Chechen by nationality. He was killed. Kankalik was wounded. The motive behind the provocation is unknown. All-National Chechen Congress representatives have stated that they were not involved in the incident.

Situation 'Gradually Stabilizing'

LD1311073591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Report from Groznyy by correspondent Tamara Aliyeva]

[Excerpt] The situation in Chechen-Ingush is gradually stabilizing. Those attending the rally near Government House, which began at 2000 last night, have started to disperse gradually. The main thoroughfare of Groznyy, Lenin Prospect, has been opened for traffic as of today.

The turning point in the situation was the arrival of the joint delegation from Moscow, the parliament of the Confederation of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, and the Chechen parliament, which took part in talks with the Russian leadership. They spoke at a meeting, as well as on local television and radio, and explained in detail how a decision mutually acceptable to both sides was made. They spoke about the stand of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

The call to disperse is welcomed. A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists is to take place in two hours. Journalists will have many questions. You know that the crime situation in the republic is very complex and alarming. Yesterday studies were interrupted in a number of schools and higher educational establishments of Groznyy. I have no reports yet saying that studies have resumed. Everybody in the town was shocked by the vicious attack on the rector and prorector carried out by unknown persons. One died at the site of the attack and the other one was kidnapped. The search for him has produced no results. There are opinions among those near Chechen President Dudayev that this is nothing but a provocation aimed at destabilizing the situation and disqualifying the national freedom movement and Dudayev himself, and that KGB bodies are behind all this. [passage omitted]

Deputies Differ Over Restoring Law, Order

LD1311100291 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—As the Russian parliament tries to ease tension in Checheno-Ingushetia by voting down Yeltsin's decree on emergency rule in the secessionist enclave, Viktor Alksnis warns the whole Caucasus will rise if Russia does not use force to restore law and order in the region.

Alksnis, a leader of the hard-line parliamentary faction Soyuz, told TASS the use of force will be less painful now rather than in a month or two when the situation will become uncontrollable and cause new problems.

"The war will become inevitable in the Caucasus. It will spread to Tataria, Bashkiria and Yakutia. As a result,

Russia may soon shrink to the size of the Moscow and Vladimir regions," Alksnis said.

Viktor Sheinis, a member of the Democratic Russia Movement, has the opposite opinion. He admitted Yeltsin's decree is a mistake but stressed it is absolutely lawful. "I'm worried about the further disintegration of the Soviet Union and Russia," Sheinis told TASS.

He urged the Russian parliament to use only political means to settle the conflict in Checheno-Ingushetia.

Russian Interior Minister Andrey Dunayev, who worked in Checheno-Ingushetia as an investigator for seven years, said all measures taken by the Russian parliament and the Russian president are legal.

He said that originally only 30 per cent of Chechens supported Dzhakhar Dudayev, the first popularly elected president of the Chechen Republic. But the number of his supporters has grown considerably after Yeltsin's decree.

"At the same time, Dudayev cannot be recognised as the leader of the Chechen Republic," Dunayev told TASS.

He accused Dudayev of using criminals to achieve his goals. Recently, about 500 prisoners and 300 people kept in a detention centre were released in the Chechen Republic. They pose a real threat to Chechens, Ingush and Russians in the Republic.

Dudayev claimed the Chechen National Guard use women, children and old people as a living shield.

"If they make attempts to attack military units in Checheno-Ingushetia, retaliatory measures will be taken," Dunayev said.

Dudayev Demands Independence Recognition

LD1311100991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] The leader of the Chechen Republic in the North Caucasus, Dzhakhar Dudayev, has said his republic will not have any talks with Russia unless its independence is recognized. President Dudayev warned his supporters would not disband themselves until the official statement from Russia's President Boris Yeltsin reversing his decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia is received.

Reports from the autonomy's capital Groznyy say that all activity in the Republic has been paralyzed. The police are the only government body operating as usual. Local oil refineries are faced with the risk of coming to a standstill.

Dudayev's Supporters End Rally in Groznyy

OW1311140491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Street traffic in the central part of the Chechen-Ingush capital Groznyy resumed Wednesday [13 November] after the end of the nearly 90-day non-stop rally staged in Liberty Square by followers of the Chechen National Congress and its leader Dzhakhar Dudayev, an Air Force general recently turned president of the republic.

Armed units of the Chechen national guard have continued to control the cantonment of a convoy regiment of Soviet interior troops and search all outcoming vehicles.

The blockade of Soviet army units has been lifted, except in the village of Khankaly where an Air Force regiment is stationed.

As IF [INTERFAX] has already reported, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's press spokesman Pavel Voshchanov said Tuesday [12 November] that Mr. Yeltsin had agreed with the parliamentary resolution on Chechen-Ingush, a document recognizing the legitimacy of the settlement efforts of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Mr. Yeltsin in person, but failing to confirm the presidential decree that imposed a state of emergency on Chechen- Ingush.

Situation 'Returning to Normal'

OW1311171891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 13 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 2" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia is reported to be returning to normal. On Wednesday [13 November], traffic resumed in the city centre. However, many people in the streets still carry arms. The number of demonstrators in Liberty square has reduced markedly.

In the meantime, the parliament of the Chechen Republic is holding its session in the building of the Council of Ministers. The agenda includes measures to unite all para-military groups and the Interior Ministry under unified command, which is likely to be carried out by the republican War Minister Yusup Soslambekov.

The council of the elders has suggested forming a Chechen-Ingush cavalry division, similar to the one which existed in the North Caucasus before the revolution.

The Chechen president's press office has said that military representatives from the federation of mountain peoples of the Caucasus will meet on Thursday [14 November].

Report on Order To Arrest Dudayev Denied

LD1311163691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The press center of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procuracy has denied Vice President Rutskoy's statement to the effect that there is a signed order to arrest General Dudayev in Chechen-Ingushetia. This statement was made on the first day of the extraordinary session of the Russian parliament. It was said this time that neither the Russian procurator general nor the Chechen Republic procurator general had signed an order to arrest Dudayev.

Democratic Union Supporters Protest Situation

OW1311141791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A dozen supporters of the "Democratic Union" (leader—Valeriya Novodvorskaya) and the "Union of Anarchists" gathered in Moscow's Sovetskaya Square to protest what they called the Russian authorities' lack of decision towards Chechen-Ingush. They carried placards saying "We Congratulate Foreman Yeltsin and Sergeant Rutskoy Upon Their Victory in the Caucasus!" and "The Distrophic and Impotent Government Must Go."

Fifth Congress of People's Deputies

Resolution Adopted on South Ossetian Situation

PM1111153391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Nov 91 p 1

[Item under the "Official Section" rubric headlined: "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Congress of People's Deputies Resolution On Progress in the Implementation of the Third (Extraordinary) RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies Resolution 'On the Situation in South Ossetia'"]

[Text] In view of the extremely tense situation prevailing in South Ossetia since December 1990, which has produced numerous deaths, destruction, and a large number of refugees left without shelter and the means to exist, the Third (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies adopted a resolution "On the Situation in South Ossetia." It contained proposals to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia to restore the status of the South Ossetia Autonomous Oblast and all structures of state power, to release T.G. Kulumbekov, chairman of South Ossetia Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, and other unlawfully detained persons, and to adopt measures for the refugees' return to their place of permanent residence.

The Georgian leadership has ignored these sensible proposals. Consequently, the situation in South Ossetia has deteriorated still further in the last seven months and has become catastrophic in nature. The South Ossetian capital Tskhinvali, along with population centers in Znaurskiy Rayon, are bombarded by rockets and artillery fire every day. About 100 villages in the oblast have been burned down and destroyed and refugees leaving South Ossetia and other internal rayons of Georgia for North Ossetia have totaled 100,000 people. This is causing the national political situation in the Northern Caucasus as a whole to deteriorate.

In view of the fact that events in South Ossetia pose a real threat to the stability and security of the RSFSR, the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies resolves:

1. That it be considered necessary for the RSFSR president, in colaboration with the Republic of Georgia and on the basis of the decision adopted by the Third (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, to immediately implement coordinated measures to resolve the conflict in South Ossetia, suppress the activity of illegal armed formations, lift the blockade on transportation routes, bring refugees back to their place of permanent residence, and ensure normal living conditions for the region's population.

2. That, in the event of the Georgian leadership's failure to meet the proposed demands, the RSFSR president and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet take all necessary steps, including tough economic sanctions, against the Republic of Georgia, in order to settle the conflict in South Ossetia and restore human rights.

3. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolve within 10 days the question of granting the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] additional material and technical and financial resources to help the refugees.

4. That the USSR president be instructed to take steps within his powers to stabilize the situation in South Ossetia.

5. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers demand from the Republic of Georgia reimbursement of the expenditure incurred by the RSFSR on helping refugees from South Ossetia and other rayons of Georgia.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

The Kremlin, Moscow. 1 November 1991

Resolution on Constitutional Amendments Passed

PM1311103191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 6

[Resolution of the Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, People's Deputies: "On the Procedure for Validating the RSFSR Law 'On Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)'"]

[Text] The Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies resolves:

The RSFSR Law "On Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" of 1 November 1991 is to be validated the moment it is

adopted, with the exception of Articles 10-12 of the law, which come into force the moment the heads of executive power (presidents) of the republics within the RSFSR are elected, and Paragraph 2 of Article 7 of the law, which will be validated 2 April 1992.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, The Kremlin, 1 November 1991

Federation Affairs

'Democratic Russia Movement' Opens Congress

LD0911220391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[By correspondent O. Bobin from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Bobin] There are 1,073 delegates at the Democratic Russia Movement congress, representing 74 regions of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The Democratic Russia Movement itself has already occupied a leading role in our political process: it unites around 25 different parties, but the main bulk of it remains non-party.

[RSFSR People's Deputy P.S. Filippov] You see, a party is not defined by membership cards like these [shows card]. A party, in the final analysis, is defined by a person's mood, by his world outlook, by his goals. The Democratic Russia Movement is a movement which is trying to bring the country onto the road to the European market, a civilized market, to a civilized society, and in this sense it already is a party. I simply stress that it is rather an American-style party.

[Bobin] This mass movement already has a precise orientation toward the middle class, to which skilled workers, the technical and humanitarian intelligentsia, private farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs belong. The Congress's first day of work focused on the economic state of Russia. This was why Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, the vice premier, spent longer than scheduled at the rostrum. The movement gathered at this Congress to back the RSFSR president's radical reforms in the belief that the collapse of these reforms would lead to the defeat of democracy. At the same time, every point of the reforms is being subjected to analysis and adjustment, and many figures are being cited. It was announced that Russia's losses in its trading with the former subjects of the USSR will amount to $50 billion this year. The Congress will continue its work tomorrow. A question of no less importance will be discussed—the ethnic question.

'Split' in Movement Reported

LD1011162891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 10 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Nov (TASS)—The "Democratic Russia" movement, which brought Boris Yeltsin to power, has "split." At its second Congress today a group of delegates representing the "Popular Accord" bloc announced their decision to leave the forum and the intention of the parties belonging to it to leave "Democratic Russia" and set up a "Coalition of Democratic Forces of Russia." This was announced at the Congress today by Il'ya Roytman, a representative of the DPR leadership, on behalf of three parties belonging to the bloc—the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], the Party of People's Freedom, and the Russian Christian-Democratic Movement. The split has occurred at a time when the Russian president and his "team" need civic accord and the support of all political forces more than ever before in order to carry out economic reform.

The "Democratic Russia" movement, which emerged last year as a bloc giving election support to Boris Yeltsin, has until now included both individual members and leading Russian parties with democratic leanings.

The special position of the DPR led by Nikolay Travkin became clear within the framework of "Democratic Russia" quite some time ago, but this time the DPR and its two partners in the "Popular Accord" bloc have announced their intention to finally break with the movement. Addresses at the Congress showed that the position of the leadership is far from having the support of all rank and file members of these parties and that the final decision will most likely be made at the DPR Congress, which is due at the beginning of December.

The reason for the announcement that the bloc was leaving the Congress was the vote on a section of the movement's draft rules allowing individual membership. In the opinion of "Popular Accord," which wants "Democratic Russia" to be a "coalition of public associations," "a group of the movement's Moscow leaders wants to set up a super party." A majority of Congress delegates reacted negatively to what "Popular Accord" has done.

The second area of disagreement was the issue of the national and territorial setup in Russia. The DPR and its allies want a "united and indivisible Russia" as well as the "protection of the rights of Russians in former Union Republics," whereas the official position of the "Democratic Russia" leadership, as expressed by Yuriy Afanasyev, one of the movement's co-chairmen, is for a "united but divisible Russia" which would allow the possibility of individual national republics leaving the federation by constitutional means.

As for approving the rules and the election of the movement's leadership bodies, the second Congress of "Democratic Russia" achieved its task, but the inter-party squabbling at this Congress has pushed a more important issue, that of the movement's tasks in the current political situation, into the background. Anatoliy Medvedev, an RSFSR people's deputy and Congress delegate, told a TASS correspondent that "Democratic Russia" supports Boris Yeltsin on the whole but not

unconditionally. "Our position should be not blind approval but cooperation and constructive criticism," he stressed. "Democratic Russia" may be more in touch with the people than the president and help him make the right decisions."

Delegates Leave Congress

OW1211030091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A storm erupted at the second congress of the movement "Democratic Russia" after Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR), Ilya Roytman, delivered his speech.

On behalf of his party, of the Party of Popular Freedom, of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and other parties constituting the Democratic Russia, Mr. Roytman accused the movement's leaders of having usurped power and taking arbitrary decisions uncoordinated with the member-parties. He also criticized the congress' resolution on the Chechen-Ingush republic passed on Saturday [9 November].

Mr. Roytman said that representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia, of the Party of Popular Freedom, of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and other parties were leaving the congress and were setting up their own organizing committee for shaping a coalition of genuinely democratic forces.

After those delegates' demonstrative withdrawal, the congress was addressed by representatives of local branches of the parties which had left the congress. The DPR's delegates from Novosibirsk, Rostov-on-Don, Tyumen, Lipetsk, Volgograd and Tula said that the decision to withdraw from the Democratic Russia had been taken by the DPR leaders. As to the DPR's local branches, they did not imagine themselves outside the Democratic Russia, they said.

The results of the discussion were summed up by People's Deputy of the USSR, priest Gleb Yakunin. "I'm convinced," he said, "that most of the DPR's rank-and-file members do not support their leaders. What we are witnessing now is neither a split nor the ruin of our movement as many have proclaimed here. The party has shaken a burden off its shoulders."

"I congratulate the movement on our consolidation," he said.

New 'Political Line' Needed

LD1111184891 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 11 Nov 91

[By TASS analyst Ludmila Alekandrova]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The "Democratic Russia" Movement—President Yeltsin's political mainstay—is ready to support the president's policy of reforms, but not without reservations. It urges the Russian leadership to heed its views. This is the political result of the movement's second congress, which was held here from November 9-10.

The principal task of the congress, in addition to the election of its leading bodies and endorsement of the movement's new rules, was to determine its tactics and strategy in the new conditions. Before the August putsch, "Democratic Russia's" main job was to combat the Soviet Communist Party. When the democratic forces come to power, the movement was confronted with the need to draw up a new political line.

"The situation is difficult. We can by no means be regarded as a ruling force. But we are not an opposition force, too. We support the president of Russia," congress delegate Russian People's Deputy Anatoly Medvedev said.

One of the resolutions, adopted by the congress, says that "the situation calls not simply for all out support to the ongoing reforms, but for a thoroughly checked and thought out policy, allowing for criticisms and alternative solutions to concrete problems". The congress worked out a mechanism for regular consultations between representatives of the movement and Russia's president.

The movement's attitude to the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia showed that "Democratic Russia" intends to abide by its own views on political and economic problems, even if they differ from the line of the Russian leadership. The adopted appeals to the Russian president and parliament, as well as to the peoples of Checheno- Ingushetia, claim that the Russian authorities' reaction was "inadequate in light of the existing situation". They call for the suspension of the state of emergency decree. The Russian parliament refused to endorse the decree today.

The congress was marked by an alarming symptom—the movement's pending split. Representatives of the "People's Concord Block", uniting the Democratic Party of Russia, the Russian Christian- Democratic Movement and the People's Freedom Party, demonstratively announced their decision to walk out on the congress and set up a "coalition of Russia's democratic forces" as a counterweight to "Democratic Russia". One of the points of the new rules, envisaging individual membership in the movement, as well as collective membership, served as a pretext for this demarche. The "splitters" claim this will turn "Democratic Russia" into a "superparty".

The differences between Travkin's party and its allies, on the one hand, and leaders of "Democratic Russia", on the other, are largely due, according to local analysts, to personal ambitions cherished by party leaders. They came to the surface long ago, but produced an open split for the first time. This is an inevitable process, caused by the differentiation of various political forces within the frameworks of an amorphous movement.

Hovewer, growing inter-party differences are liable to weaken the democratic forces, since representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia often form the backbone of "Democratic Russia" at the grassroots. But the consolidation of all democratic forces supporting Yeltsin is particularly necessary today in order to ensure civil concord during the implementation of radical economic reforms.

No 'Reasonable Compromise' Reached

PM1311100991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy report: "Split in 'Democratic Russia'"]

[Text] The "Democratic Russia" Movement held its second congress in Moscow's "October" Movie and Concert Hall 9-10 November.

The recent diagnoses of worsening major clashes in the democratic camp following the victory over the "common enemy"—the CPSU—were regrettably borne out by the "Democratic Russia" congress. Once again, there was none of the consolidation of which democrats have spoken at such length. The movement's aims were outlined in statements by its Cochairmen Yu. Afanasyev, L. Ponomarev, G. Yakunin, and other speakers: support for radical economic reform, dialogue with the authorities, a civic society, and priority of the individual over the state—everyone seems to have mastered this "set of gentleman's principles," but it proved simply impossible to reach a reasonable compromise at a time when the Russian leadership has been given extremely little time to carry out reforms.

Most representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Constitutional Democrats (Party of People's Freedom) walked out on the second day of the congress. According to their statement, they have three disagreements with the "Democratic Russia" leadership. First, regarding Russia's state system, they do not subscribe to the principle of the country's divisibility. Second, they do not agree with the item inserted in the statutes regarding individual membership of the movement and the indefinable concept of a coalition of parties. Third, on moral and ethical grounds, they think that the congress was prepared in an insufficiently democratic way.

Apart from the statutes, the "Democratic Russia" congress adopted a number of documents on the most important questions pertaining to the country's life and elected leadership organs, but one cannot help but agree with one of its participants who noted that the trend toward "as many opinions as there are people" is increasingly prevailing within the movement. Even with the most sensible decisions and resolutions, this will hardly enable "Democratic Russia" to be as useful to society during the crucial period of its renewal as it was during the time of the local soviet and Russian presidential elections.

Deputy Views Status of 'Democratic Movement'

PM1311104591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[By Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy V. Lysenko, cochairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation: "Democrats in Opposition to...Democrats"]

[Text] The democratic movement of the Russian Federation is going through hard times. The suppression of the anticonstitutional putsch marked the end of the six-year opposition stage in its development connected with the elimination of the CPSU's monopoly of power and the dismantling of the communist totalitarian empire. The long existence of a common enemy in the form of the CPSU and the Union center caused the democratic forces to merge at crucial times and enabled slow but confident progress toward the main aim of their minimum program—to gain political power.

Now that aim seems to have been achieved: The CPSU has been brought down, the Union center, which hindered the sovereign republics' development, has been reduced to secondary positions, and leaders of the democratic movement have filled key state posts.

The lightning suppression of the putsch, however, aroused public expectations of equally fast reforms and improvement of the economic situation, expectations which have not been borne out. The democratic movement, both at the "top" and at "grass-roots" level, proved unprepared for such a rapid development of events and for the assumption of the full range of responsibility for Russia's management.

Just what does the democratic movement of the Russian Federation represent today? What is the arrangement of forces within it and the possible paths of its further development?

Until recently the main struggle regarding the problems of the country's social system was waged between left-wing organizations, rallied around the CPSU and advocating the socialist choice, back-to-the-soil organizations calling for a return to the past, and centrist and rightist organizations (ranging from the social democrats to the cadets [constitutional democrats]), which support the Western variant of civilization.

Before the democrats' advent to power, differences of opinion in the latter group centered on the choice of priorities regarding social and liberal values. Recently, however, the situation has begun to change rapidly. The social democrats have switched to opposition to the Moscow executive authorities because of the "wild nomenclature privatization," and the Democratic Party of Russia has done so because of obstruction to free enterprise. The remaining parties within the "Democratic Russia" movement have declared conditional support for the Moscow and Russian authorities. The most

appropriate reaction has come from the incipient Movement of Democratic Reforms: support for reformist ventures despite the serious mistakes. Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy has found himself in an ambiguous situation, obliged by his official position to pursue unpopular market measures and as leader of the former Democratic Party of Russian Communists, to bolster working people's social protection. The well preserved cadres and structures of the former CPSU have launched furious activity to create an "opposition of discontents" to the actions of the democrats.

At the same time, despite the growing impact of disagreements on social and economic problems, it is not they who are the main factors of today's polarization of forces in the democratic camp. Political questions remain most important: the attitude to the future of the Union and Russia, and the attitude to the character, content, forms, methods, and cadres of the new state power.

The political associations adhering to great power, imperial ambitions include political forces of a left-wing orientation (the United Front of Working People, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)...), "back-to-the-soil" movements ("Pamyat," the Russian People's Front, and others of their ilk), as well as political parties of a rightist trend—the Democratic Party of Russia, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Party of People's Freedom—from the former, once united, democratic camp. They are all united by a desire to preserve the empire and "prevent the disintegration of what our forefathers gained over centuries." Furthermore, whereas the left speaks from procommunist positions ("We shall preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"), the right and the "back-to-the-soil" supporters are clearly anticommunists ("Destroy communism but retain the Russian state created by the Communists over one-sixth of the earth's surface"), and it is no coincidence that since the suppression of the putsch, all three formerly irreconcilable extremes have been steadily coming together beneath the slogan of protecting the rights of man—Russian-speaking man—although they fell silent for some reason when blood was flowing in Tbilisi, Baku, and Vilnius. Today the representatives of these forces are at work in the Crimea and the Dnestr Region, South Ossetia, and North Kazakhstan. Realizing the impossibility of restoring the collapsed Union, the "Russian patriots" in present-day conditions adopted a course toward reviving Great Russia effectively within the bounds of the former Soviet Union. Their furious activity is leading to the sharp aggravation of relations between the indigenous population and the Russian-speaking population in the republics, and the demand for a revision of the borders threatens a development of the situation along Yugoslav lines.

In fact the entire imperial section of the political spectrum (with the exception of the Cadets and some Christian Democrats) adheres to left and right radical positions and is one of the main sources of future political instability.

One long-term consequence of the putsch was the rout of the conservative forces headed by the CPSU, which advocate the preservation of the old ways. The revolutionary character of the rout led to a mighty disruption of equilibrium in the political arena, like the inversion of the political pyramid, which caused a sharp intensification of radical tendencies both from the right and the left and the displacement of an already fairly weak political center toward radicalism.

The situation is somewhat reminiscent of fall 1917 when, after the lightning and bloodless suppression of the Kornilov rebellion (recognized by historians as clearly premature), after the euphoria at the general victory in September evaporated, in conditions of deepening economic disintegration, two dominant tendencies clearly appeared: one left-wing authoritarian (the bolsheviks) and one right-wing authoritarian (the military), both relying on nonparliamentary methods. As a result, the left radical tendency gained the upper hand in October 1917 with all the well known consequences: armed insurrection, disbandment of bourgeois political parties, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, civil war...

We are now at the end of the euphoria of victory when the new democratic leadership of Russia and other republics, having inherited the heaviest legacy, faces a choice: either to begin a fundamental economic reform, whose cornerstone would be the most unpopular liberalization of prices, or, by continuing to exploit the prestige of victory, make do with half measures and continue the line of "both authorities and opposition," which brought B. Yeltsin success from the summer of 1990.

At the moment the democratic leaders in power are racked with doubts on the main questions, and opposition to the new democratic leadership, both from the left and the right, is growing rapidly.

The opposition of democrats to democrats is actively supported by procommunist forces which, having lost power but retained vast property and influence in society, are preparing to take revenge again. The national patriots, who are now reviling not only M. Gorbachev but B. Yeltsin, too, have switched to the opposition.

The political parties and organizations which do not have a clear form [oformlennost] of their own, represented by the "liberal radicals" group, are another potential force capable of siding with the opposition in the near future. These radical tendencies opposed and continue to oppose all compromise. Their environment is nonparliamentary actions: rallies, picketing, alternative demonstrations, hunger strikes, the blockading of transport routes... In many cases with unpredictable consequences and a risk to people's lives. When Yeltsin was in opposition to the power structures the radicals idolized him, but today when he has risen to the head of a great state and inevitably adopted centrist positions, the radicals are accusing him of betraying the revolutionary ideals of 19-21 August. The objective logic of the development of democratic (and indeed, pseudodemocratic)

radicalism is this: to raze the old system to the ground and then build a "kingdom of freedom" on the ruins. Nowhere else have victorious revolutions led to the establishment of a kingdom of freedom, only to new totalitarian regimes.

Despite certain ideological differences, a clear Bolshevik mentality can be seen among the radicals who count themselves part of the democratic movement: Namely, the priority of revolutionary methods in the solution of problems, blanket opposition, and an unwillingness to recognize the need for transitional structures, compromise cabinets, and interim solutions.

Radicalism is pushing the democratic movement to the brink. Unless that is understood today, it may be too late tomorrow.

Today Russia needs a constructive, reformist force at the center of the political spectrum to ensure the success of the reforms proclaimed by Yeltsin. We, members of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, express our readiness to help create a bloc of political parties in support of the reforms and to participate in it. We believe that our party's members will be able to share responsibility for the course of the transformations by their own participation in the organs of executive power in Russia at this difficult time.

The fate of the reforms and of Russia itself depends largely on whether the democratic forces succeed in reaching agreement and creating a powerful reformist movement.

Local Affairs

Karachayevo-Cherkesiya Threatens To Split

LD0811131991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Cherkessk, 8 Nov (TASS)—After Chechen-Ingush, yet another oblast in the North Caucasus—Karachayevo-Cherkesiya—threatens to split into several components. A fourth republic, Cherkesiya, has been proclaimed in this territory with an area of just over 14,000 square km. The Karachayevo, Abaza, and the Cossack Zelenchuk-Urup republics had been proclaimed there.

Today the procurator of Karachayevo-Cherkesiya challenged the proclamation of Cherkesiya saying that it was illegal. A similar protest was made earlier in connection with the proclamation of the other three republics. The procurator requested that the Russian procurator general "take the necessary measures" to see that the illegal decisions are rescinded.

The Karachayevo-Cherkessk Oblast was formed as an autonomous entity within Stavropol Kray in 1922. This year, the Russian parliament approved the decision of the oblast soviet of people's deputies to raise the oblast's status to that of republic.

Soon after this, the main national groups living in the Karachayevo-Cherkessk Republic—Russians, Karachayevs, Cherkesses, and Abazins—decided to set up their own state formations.

Khasbulatov Issues Appeal

PM1311161991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Appeal by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, to the Peoples of Karachayevo-Cherkessia"]

[Text] "Dear Fellow Countrymen!

"At this tragic hour of trials to which the durability of the fraternal bonds linking us in a united family is being subjected, I express to the illustrious peoples of the Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] the hope that your innate well balanced decisionmaking qualities and wisdom of actions will help to preserve peace and accord not only on the sacred land of your forefathers but also in our multinational community, which is a homeland to each of us. It was only together that we were able to overcome that which neither a man in isolation nor a whole country abandoned to the whim of fate by their conferees could survive. We may be taking only the first steps on the path of restoring justice flouted by others, but nevertheless the Law on the Rehabilitation of the Victims of Repression has been adopted and is working, and normative acts to expand civil rights are being prepared by the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. In particular, your initiative to enhance the state status of the former autonomous oblast which, by special act, was proclaimed the Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic within the Russian Federation, has been reinforced by law.

"However, all these realities, which have only just become an encouraging token of our life, may again be reduced to illusory symbols if we do not protect them by concerted efforts and will from the spark of that 'conflagration' which is already reducing the aspirations of the peoples of adjoining Union republics to ashes. Without these purposeful actions based on mutual understanding there is and there can be no peace between people nor happiness in their families. That is why I appeal to you, my fellow citizens and like-minded people, for dialogue which would help us all not only to understand one another better but also to find the optimum solution to the vitally important economic, social, national, and moral problems standing in the way of the prosperity of our long-suffering peoples.

"Allow me to express the confidence that when resolving the territorial problems which threaten to split and disunite the republic's traditional inhabitants, your age-old qualities of prudence and patience and realization of the need to live on the basis of the laws of your 'little' motherland—the Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic—and of our common Russian state will prevail.

"Happiness and well-being to every family in multinational Karachayevo-Cherkessia!"

Kuzbass Bars Coking Coal Supplies to Ukraine

LD1211113191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo, 12 Nov (TASS)—The Kuzbass has refused to supply coking coal to the Ukraine, Nikolay Krushinskiy, deputy head of administration of Kemerovo Oblast, announced today.

There are two reasons. First, the Ukraine has failed to supply Siberia with 11,000 tonnes this year, and second, its representatives intend to buy metallurgical raw materials in the Kuzbass very cheaply while supplying sugar at commercial prices.

"We have suggested that we trade at world prices but have received no response, hence this decision," Nikolay Krushinskiy explained to the TASS correspondent.

Moscow Duma Holds Session, Elects Speaker

LD1211192191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1238 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)— All the difficulties notwithstanding—the threat of there being no quorum, malfunction of the electronic counting apparatus, etc.—the first sitting of the Moscow City Duma (small council) [malyy sovet] took place here today. This body will exercise the powers of the Moscow soviet between sessions. There are 230 deputies in the Duma, all of whom have voluntarily expressed the wish to work on it. It is headed by the chairman of Moscow Soviet. A speaker has been elected, namely deputy Yevgeniy Tverdokhlebov. An institute of speakers will be set up. This will evidently comprise 10-15 people. The agenda for the first day's work is pretty concise: deciding organizational matters. For the time being, the Duma members decided to postpone everything else—privatization of housing, residence permits, introduction of food ration cards, the status of Moscow, voters' requests. The state Duma of the capital will continue its work without any recess right up until the Christmas holidays, its chairman Nikolay Gonchar announced.

Leading Officials in Perm Oblast Resign

LD0811201191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] An epidemic of resignations has spread in Perm Oblast. It started with the notice of Rudolf Sladskiy, chairman of the oblast soviet, handed in on 4 November. Then his colleague from Bereznyaki, the oblast's largest city, sent in his resignation. The heads of the city soviet and the city executive committees resigned simultaneously in the town of Tungur. Such an unusual plague among the administration may be explained by people being reluctant to bear responsibility for continuously worsening food supplies, the ANI agency reports.

St Petersburg's 'Financial War' Reported

PM0811165591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent N. Volynskiy report: "Hunt the Ruble"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—Post offices in St. Petersburg have stopped paying money orders for over 500 rubles [R] originating from the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belarus [Belorussia], Moldova, and Armenia. The local authorities have been forced to resort to this drastic measure in view of the unprecedented expansion in the local market in rubles that are becoming worthless. In effect, financial war has been declared on St. Petersburg, and it has been forced to defend itself.

Furthermore, there is simply no means to pay out—there is no ready cash. Vast amounts of rubles in non-cash forms are now reaching the city on the Neva from the sovereign republics of the former USSR. It has become impossible to turn them into hard cash. It is noteworthy that the post office pays out nearly R700,000 a day to its customers. Recently that entire sum was taken by just five people. Overall the deficit on money transfers in the city is about R200 million.

St Petersburg Bans Sale of State Goods

LD0811164191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has signed an order banning private and cooperative shops from selling goods that are made in state enterprises. The order also stipulates that state- made consumer goods will be sold in St. Petersburg only at state prices. Liberalized prices apply to articles manufactured by private enterprises and cooperatives.

Yakutsk Declares Territory Nuclear-Free Zone

OW1311025491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet session in Yakutia declared the republic's territory a nuclear-free zone Monday [11 November]. This places a ban on the deployment and storage of nuclear weapons, the development of deposits of fissionable materials or the organization of their enrichment, the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, and the storage of nuclear wastes on Yakut territory.

The latest nuclear test was carried out in the republic three years ago. All in all, Yakutia has survived 12 peaceful nuclear blasts.

The country's first uranium-mining installation opened in Yakutia during World War II. Until recently, there were plans to restore it, since the high level of local uranium's enrichment makes its extraction profitable.

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Kozyrev Previews U.S. Trip

LD0911122191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given; from the "Plus Eleven" feature—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] You will leave for the United States in a few days as Yeltsin's envoy. It is a chance not to be missed. What is the purpose of your visit?

[Kozyrev] The purpose is to ensure that we and the reformist drive that we have undertaken are understood. And of course we need specific cooperation. This is another illustration of why we need a strong foreign policy department. We need to enlist support for our program, and the other republics also need to be helped to ensure the implementation of the program.

We are not talking about some ephemeral union or central structure, but of the actual programs that are being pursued in the republics. But we are willing to coordinate this, you see. I am going to go over there. We also share these plans with these republics. That is what we have to do. We are talking about external support for the economic programs and reforms in the republics and the coordination of this activity. If we do not now quickly set up a coordinating mechanism in the economic sphere, the foreign economic sphere, we will miss this opportunity.

[Reporter] Will any specific agreements be discussed, or is it purely a fact-finding mission?

[Kozyrev] Well, we will see. Let us see how it works out. I will be able to tell you when I get back.

Silayev Accused of Signing Afghan Aid Treaty

LD1011225591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At the Democratic Russia session today, Deputy Gleb Yakunin reported that Ivan Silayev, former Russian prime minister, secretly signed a econmic aid treaty with the Afghanistan Government about a year ago. As a result, up to 40 transport planes are still being sent here daily along with motor vehicle transport and food. Such a situation is impermissible. Gleb thinks.

Afghan Mujahidin Delegation Arrives for Visit

LD1011151491 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 10 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—An Afghan mujahidin delegation led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, acting minister of foreign affairs of the "interim government" of the Afghan opposition and leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, arrived here today.

The representatives of the opposition will hold talks with the leadership of the Union and Russian Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

The delegation is expected to be received by Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and to meet the parents and relatives of Soviet servicemen who had been taken prisoner in Afghanistan.

It is so far too early to say whether the delegation's arrival will be a step forward in efforts to resolve the Afghan conflict. Such a cautious approach to an estimate of the possible outcome of the forthcoming talks this week is prompted by two circusmstances at least.

Firstly, on the delegation there are no representatives of large and influential opposition groups led by Abd Al-Rasul Sayif, Mohammad Khalis, and Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, who are known for their adherence to military methods for resolving the conflict, and who took a rather sceptical view of the advisability of a trip to Moscow without the Soviet Union's meeting a number of political conditions.

Secondly, the interests of many sides, including the Iran-based opposition, clash in Afghanistan. Therefore a group of mujahidin arriving from Tehran tonight will join the Rabbani-led delegation. It remains to be seen whether the joint delegation will manage to be really unified.

But there is still hope that progress will be made, particularly on such an important issue as the release of Soviet prisoners of war.

Meets Vice President Rutskoy

LD1111100591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0856 GMT 11 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—A meeting between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and a delegation of the Afghan mujahidin headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, acting foreign minister for the "interim government" of the Afghan opposition and leader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," has just begun in the Russian House of Soviets. The delegation arrived in Moscow yesterday to

hold talks with the leadership of Russia and the Union on the issue of an Afghan settlement.

Meeting the mujahidin delegation, Aleksandr Rutskoy welcomed their intention to pave the way for a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. "For our part, we will take all (possible) measures—and this is the standpoint of Russian President Boris Yeltsin—to bring about peace in the long-suffering land of Afghanistan," he remarked.

The forthcoming negotiations will hardly be easy. The parties' approaches to the political aspects of resolving the Afghan conflict are substantially different. This primarily concerns the fate of the present Kabul government and President Najibollah. If the Afghan opposition categorically insists on his departure, then the standpoint of the Russian leadership, on the whole coinciding with the position of the Union, is to create conditions for the people of Afghanistan to freely express their will and form a government as a result of elections.

More on Rutskoy Meeting

LD1211043591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] vice president, received an Afghan mujahidin delegation on 11 November. This was reported to a correspondent of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY by Andrey Fedorov, an adviser to the vice president. The sides exchanged opinions on possibilities of settling the Afghan problem. Fedorov noted that the views of the sides proved to be very similar in many ways. Aleksandr Rutskoy pointed out the problem of Soviet POW's to his collocutors, linking their speedy release with settlement of the Afghan crisis. The RSFSR vice president stressed that Russian leadership is in favor of ceasing military supplies, but not humanitarian aid, to Afghanistan. The vice president's adviser stated that after the agenda for the stay of the mujahidin delegation in the USSR is completed, there will be another meeting with Aleksandr Rutskoy to decide on joint steps aimed at settling the Afghan problem.

Conditions Set on POW's

LD1111150291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 11 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—Burhanuddin Rabbani, the head of the delegation from the "interim government" of the Afghan opposition and leader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA), has called the results of the first round of talks with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy "constructive and reassuring".

Burhanuddin Rabbani noted that a number of "interesting proposals"—which the Afghan opposition is prepared to discuss at a second meeting with the Russian vice president, planned for 13 November—were put forward by Aleksandr Rutskoy. The ISA leader did not specify the content of the proposals put forward.

The matter of Soviet prisoners of war, Burhanuddin Rabbani said, was also discussed. "We are ready to assist in the resolution of this," he noted. "However, two conditions put forward by the opposition need to be borne in mind with regard to this: Najibollah's resignation and the resolution of the problem of the captured mujahidins in Afghanistan."

The leader of the delegation excluded the possibility of holding any talks with the "Peshawar Seven", the representatives of the Najibollah government. "We frankly told the Russian vice president that the Kabul regime should be replaced with an Islamic government," he stressed.

Customs Posts Established With Estonia

LD1311042491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1843 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lev Frolov]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 12 Nov (TASS)—The uncontrolled export of raw materials and materials and goods in mass demand from Russia to Estonia has been stopped. In Leningrad oblast, the Kingisepp customs have introduced a prohibition on the cross-border shipment of goods not indicated in licenses and declarations. The first vehicles today passed through a special control post set up in bordering Ivangorod.

The northwest directorate of state customs control is also preparing to open up control points on the territory of Pskov oblast in Pechory, Pytalovo, and Sebezh.

Finnish President, Yeltsin Aide View Ties

LD1111190291 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 11 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhny]

[Text] Helsinki November 11 TASS—Finnish President Mauno Koivisto met special representative and aide of the Russian president, Galina Starovoitova, today to discuss the state of and prospects for the development of trade and economic relations between Finland and Russia.

The representative handed over to the president a personal message of Boris Yeltsin on programs of economic reforms in Russia.

Koivisto thanked for the message and wished the Russian leadership success in the reform implementation. He stressed that the current difficulties in Russia are connected with the transition of its economy to the market relations.

He especially noted the importance of the stabilisation of financial circulation in the country, and expressed his wish to expand trade and economic relations with the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union.

Both sides voiced their interest in the soonest conclusion of an agreement on trade between Russia and Finland. They also stressed the significance of the expansion of border trade, and direct contacts with the Russian leadership and politicians, as well as between Russian and Finnish businessmen and the public.

Yeltsin, Kozyrev To Visit Germany 21-22 Nov

OW1211173791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin may probably leave for West Germany on an official visit on November 21 or 22, said a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry staffer. He told IF [INTERFAX] that the Russian leader would be accompanied during the visit by the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. According to the diplomat, the visit largely pursues the objective of establishing direct ties between Germany and Russia. In fact, the entire complex of Russian-German relations will be discussed from this angle, including the restoration of an autonomous administrative unit for the Soviet Germans. The visit will also cover economic and trade cooperation and issues connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from what was East Germany.

Giving Russian-German relations a new dimension does not mean that Russia is relinquishing its traditional ties with individual German lands and cities, said the diplomat. Mr. Yeltsin's itinerary in Germany is planned to include one of the German lands.

Stankevich on Talks With Polish Officials

PM1111141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Russian Presidential Representative Holds Meetings in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Nov—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Counselor Sergey Stankevich has come to Warsaw today with a personal message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Polish President Lech Walesa. On B.N. Yeltsin's instructions, during meetings with L. Walesa, Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, he will inform them of transformations taking place in Russia in the sphere of politics and economics, and discuss the possibility of expanding cooperation with Poland in various spheres.

It is highly symbolic that the visit began with a conversation with L. Balcerowicz, who is well known throughout the whole world and in Russia, S.B. Stankevich told TASS correspondents after the meeting in the Council of Ministers. The experience of Polish reforms is perhaps being most carefully studied by the analysis center that is working for the Russian Government. Russian President B.N. Yeltsin announced the beginning of what he called the "reform breakthrough." What he has in mind is the implementation of intensive reforms, primarily in the economy, the social sphere, and the sphere of the state system. Priority is being given to the economy, and in their content, the reforms are close to the tasks that were resolved in Poland.

In our conversation with L. Balcerowicz, we broached the subject of this Polish experience, and notably the aspects of it that could be used in Russia, and also those that we should try and avoid in the implementation of Russian reforms. In particularly I consider very important the recommendation that several versions for the implementation of basic reforms be envisaged depending on the population's reaction. I am not sure that it would be sensible to use the term "shock therapy," but a one-shot price hike is practically inevitable.

During the meeting, there was also talk of Polish-Russian trade, whose level has now unfortunately decreased. Moscow City is trading fairly actively with Polish partners, but even in Moscow, there are stores which traditionally used to be full of Polish goods, but which are now empty. And this situation is quite unnatural. The question of Polish entrepreneurs being able to bring food into Russia, sell it for rubles, and with these rubles obtain the necessary goods, particularly raw materials, at Russian commodity exchanges was examined. Direct consultations on this subject are already being held. It is a good idea to think about concluding a broad bilateral agreement between Russia and Poland.

A meeting between President B.N. Yeltsin and a group of leading reformers who were party to the implementation of radical economic reforms in various countries, is scheduled for 27-28 November, S.B. Stankevich went on to say. L. Balcerowicz was given a personal invitation from the Russian president to come to Moscow to take part in this meeting.

Walesa Expresses Support

LD0911180491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0429 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov (TASS)—S.B. Stankevich, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Counsellor, was in Warsaw on 8 November as a personal representative of B.N. Yeltsin, the Russian president. He was received by L. Walesa, president of Poland, to whom he took a personal message from the president of Russia, as well as by L. Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski.

S.B. Stankevich informed Polish statesmen in detail about the main components of the Russian leadership's program of market transformation, whose purpose is to ensure a true "breakthrough in reforms" for the economy of the republic. There was a lively exchange of opinions on possibilities of using the vast Polish experience in this area.

President L. Walesa declared that Poland fully supports the reforms in the USSR and Russia, and pointed out that Poland is ready for maximum cooperation, and specifically practical cooperation, that would actually help people.

During the conversations some problems of bilateral and international character were discussed, including aspects of the legal succession of the republics of the renewed Union with respect to the agreements on disarmament and in other areas that have already been concluded.

Yu.B. Kashlev, the USSR ambassador to Poland, took part in the discussions.

Filshin Discusses Economic Ties With PRC

OW1111045991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Gennadiy Filshin, acting minister of economic affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, by station reporter Khalibov; place and date not given; from the "Hello China" program—recorded; Filshin and Khalibov speak in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation]

[Text] [Announcer] During an interview with our radio station's reporter Khalibov, Gennadiy Filshin, acting minister of economic affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], said: The Russian Republic's trade and economic ties with China constitute one of the main concerns within the republic's foreign economic relations. I believe that the Russian Republic and China will establish full economic ties in all areas in the near future. The talks between the two follows:

[Filshin] I believe that we have not yet fully assessed the possibilities of promoting economic relations with Asian countries. One of the world's main economic activities is to shift its attention to Asia. I think China will play one of the most conspicuous roles in this part of the world in the near future. China's current growth and its enormous potential have prompted us to seriously consider how the RSFSR should develop its economic ties with China. China is one of the countries with which we have drafted trade agreements. According to my estimates, the work in this area will be accomplished in November [words indistinct]. Although the RSFSR [words indistinct] relevant organs of the central Soviet Government and the republic are taking part in drafting the document. We firmly believe the RSFSR will do its utmost to [words indistinct] experiences it has accumulated in establishing trade and economic relations with China and it will make use of these experiences to seek benefits for the people in the republic.

[Khalibov] What new areas do you think will be stimulated in economic relations between Russia and China?

[Filshin] I think the trade relations between us will be expanded noticeably. To this end, we will encourage cooperation between large enterprises and companies, implement even larger plans, and carry out sizable transactions. I believe our republic can guarantee the establishment of counterpart organs that can cooperate with China. One thing I want to point out is, we will not impose any restrictions. On the contrary, Russia will make every necessary effort to liberalize its foreign economic activities in the near future and minimize as much as it can the role played by central organs in licensing commodity sales and foreign economic relations.

[Khalibov] People in foreign countries are now closely watching the fundamental (?changes) occurring the USSR's administrative organs. National departments and authorities have suspended their operation one after another after handling their administrative authority to sovereign republics. Under such circumstances, what sorts of (?measures will be taken) to pay debts we owe under the trade and economic accords we have concluded with foreign countries, including China?

[Filshin] All republics have reached an agreement in terms of their economic relations with foreign countries. They proceed from two points. The first point is related to things that have happened in the past. Republics, having committed themselves to fulfilling certain obligations under accords they have signed with foreign countries, must repay their debts. We agree that republics will guarantee to repay their debts on the basis of the proportions [words indistinct] in their national incomes and their imports and exports. Should there be unrest because of political reasons, the RSFSR will implement another plan under which it will commit to repaying foreign debts, but other republics will be responsible for all the consequencies arising out of such a contingency. I think Russia will never bankrupt itself or make itself look like a pauper in the international community. Therefore, under any circumstances, we will pay our foreign debts and foreign investors will not suffer any loss. Russia will set an example in this regard. As for future accords, [word indistinct] position will be totally different. Russia will not accept any egalitarian practices. It will not [words indistinct] loans [words indistinct] payments. I think we will [words indistinct] take resolute actions in this respect. [end recording]

Kozyrev, South African Leader Remark on Talks

LD0911234391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] The conversation between Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, and his South African counterpart Roelof Botha lasted an hour. Like the whole visit, the meeting was of the nature of general intelligence. The latest events in South Africa and Africa, as well as in the USSR and especially in Russia, were discussed. Evidently both sides understood one another well. [Video shows Botha addressing journalists in lobby]

[Begin recording] [Botha, in English, with superimposed Russian translation] We support the principles of your government because nothing separates us. You are taking leave of Communism, we of apartheid. We are similar and may be moving in the same direction. We may complement one another. We may understand one another. [end recording]

[Budnikov] Andrey Kozyrev confirmed that there are huge opportunities for establishing bilateral contacts. [Video shows Kozyrev, standing next to Botha, addressing same journalists]

[Kozyrev] I absolutely think that the correct step was taken today when Minister Pankin signed the protocol on the restoration of consular relations. We would be in favour of having two consulates, very quickly, not only in Moscow and in Johannesburg but a consulate in St. Petersburg as well. It is possible that this second consulate in South Africa will be a Russian consulate. We have also agreed to receive an economic mission here in the near future from South Africa for the development of economic relations. [end recording]

[Budnikov] It is most probable that Russian foreign policy, which is not dependent on ideology, will be built on the principle that Russia does not have eternal friends but it has eternal interests. The rapprochement between Russia and the largest and richest African country meets these in full measure.

Yeltsin Aide Addresses Swedish Trade Meeting

LD0911042391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1438 GMT 8 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm, 8 Nov (TASS)—The economy of the republic will develop. Those who do not show initiative now could miss the Russian train. This was stated by Galina Starovoytova, adviser to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, at a meeting in the Swedish Trade Council today. She is currently in Stockholm as a special envoy of the head of the RSFSR for clarifying plans for the reform which were promulgated at a recent congress of Russian people's deputies.

Addressing managers of leading firms and banks, the adviser to the president noted that the economic program planned in Russia includes price liberalization, strengthening the ruble, and converting enterprises into joint-stock companies. The privatization process will include light and food industries as well as construction. Free economy, she stressed, is already taking shape in the republic and, if we cope with ordeals that await us in winter and spring, it will start to be self-regulating.

The main issue, an answer to which the Swedish business world would like to receive, concerned guarantees that the reforms would be implemented and would avoid the fate of previous economic projects. One of the guarantees, according to Galina Starovoytova, is that people's consciousness is ready for new economy. A lot has been done for this in the past six years. Now the activity of the people has begun.

Using world experience will help to implement the reforms. The envoy of the RSFSR president expressed satisfaction with the results of a conversation with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, which took place yesterday. During this meeting, she noted, participation of Swedish specialists in carrying out economic examination of the projects being implemented was under discussion. This will allow to correct programs at various levels in a flexible way. Russia is also grateful for humanitarian aid in which business circles as well as public organizations participate.

As discussion in the trade council showed, Swedish business is not going to find itself among those who are late. A number of companies have already found partners in Russia. The concern "Joenson" plans to buy products from the association "Norilsk Nickel." The corporation "Electrolux" signed an agreement with Likhachev motor vehicles works in the field of consumer appliances. The electrotechnical machine-building concern ABB has several joint projects in Russia. World famous Swedish companies have also other plans, including technological cooperation in improving the ecological situation.

The number of participants in operations on the Russian market could be greater. Hesitation demonstrated by some representatives of business circles are connected with debts that some clients have. As Josta Ernborg, representative of "Svenska Handelsbanken" bank noted, many Swedish companies make claims in this respect. A solution to this problem cannot be delayed.

Payments problems, the special envoy of the Russian president assured, will be resolved. Difficulties with receiving hard currency remain, but the republic is solvent and it is a reliable foreign economic partner.

Belorussia

Supreme Soviet Debates Role of President

LD1111204891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] After a week's break, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belorussia today resumed its work with a discussion of a draft new constitution. The draft constitution that was adopted proclaims the rejection of any kind of ideology, and notes the social orientation and legal tone of the document. The role of local soviets is noticeably increased. It is now they, in fact, who will be responsible for the economy, ecology, and all aspects of life in cities, settlements, and villages. The main discussion boiled down to whether the Republic of Belorussia needs a president. After a debate, the decision was made to promulgate for nationwide discussion two versions of the constitution—with a presidential and a parliamentary form of government.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Azerbaijan

LD1211190591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1621 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] A treaty and an intergovernmental agreement between Azerbaijan and Belorussia were signed in Minsk today. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1720 GMT on 12 November adds the following: "The treaty is a political agreement for a period of 10 years with the option of renewel. In the document, the sides recognize each other as sovereign states and undertake to refrain from actions that may be detrimental to their state sovereignty. Both republics guarantee equal rights, freedoms, and legal protection to the other republic's citizens who are resident on their territory."]

At a news conference Ayaz Mutalibov, the president of Azerbaijan, and Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, have made their assessment of these documents.

[Begin recording] [Mutalibov] In recent times, which are quite turbulent, unstable, and tense, our relations with the republic of Belorussia have developed very successfully, very successfully. While exchanging opinions just now, we confirmed that we and Belorussia are pioneering bilateral economic relations. We, Azerbaijan and Belorussia, are the first to have signed such an agreement. We believe that such relations must be an example for other republics to follow. Every condition actually exists for this. We are both interested in bilateral economic relations. The signing of these agreements has laid the foundation of stable, long-term, and very effective relations between the two states.

[Shushkevich] I wish to express my profound satisfaction with the the documents that have been signed today. I am convinced that the work we will carry out will benefit both Azerbaijan and Belorussia. The agreements we have concluded are mutually beneficial. What is more, we have demonstrated that we do not need any intermediaries for concluding, implementing, or monitoring them—something which could not have been done before. [end recording]

Trade With Poland Urged To Strengthen Ties

OW1111000591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2057 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belorussia's Council of Ministries agreed to the establishment of a Belorussian-Polish trade center with branches in Brest and Grodno (Belorussia), and Bialo-Podliask (Poland). It also set up the Brest Universal Exchange on the Polish border. The new structures are designed to encourage stronger economic relations between the two republics.

Republic Vegetable Harvest Waste Noted

PM1311112291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2125 GMT 11 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by A. Guretskiy and A. Sinegubov]

[Text] [Guretskiy] Today the stores of Belorussia are stocked with vegetables and there should be cause to rejoice yet all around there is dissatisfaction. Prices have been increased several times over and are beyond the reach of thousands and thousands of families, and many enterprises, anxious to protect their workers somehow or other, have issued them with 300-400 rubles as one-off aid precisely to buy vegetables. But the only thing is that at the very same time that socialist agriculture together with state trade are starving city dwellers out like this, the collective and state farms near the city, having harvested the best with great difficulty, have essentially abandoned the rest of the harvest in the market gardens. Trade is not taking any more, and there is a shortage of manpower. So very often the plantations are being abandoned for the winter like this and while the upper echelons are continuing the debate about the art of the transition to the market, locally one is struck by the helplessness of the local soviets: After all, what is wasted at best will feed the livestock or bring joy to the hares.

Moldova

Dnestr 'Pseudorepublic' Laws Declared Invalid

LD0711160491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 7 Nov 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, 7 Nov (TASS)—The Presidium of the Moldovan Republic parliament has adopted a decision

"On recognizing as invalid some acts adopted in the so-called Dnestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic."

The document notes that, despite all of the efforts of the parliament, the president, and the Government of Moldova which are aimed at improving the social and political situation in the republic and preserving its integrity, the leaders of separatists from some rayons of the Dnestr area continue to take illegal actions which give rise to tension and a split. Thus, the Supreme Soviet of this illegal formation, which has not been recognized by anyone, the statement says, adopted a law on electing its own president and decisions on setting presidential elections for 1 December and on holding a referendum on the independence of the Dnestr pseudorepublic.

Proceeding from the fact that these acts run contrary to the Constitution of Moldova, the Presidium of the republic's parliament declared them invalid and of no consequence in law.

Dnestr Region Wary About Kishinev Assurances

PM1211123391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent E. Kondratov article: "Kishinev-Tiraspol: Bank War"]

[Text] Exactly a month ago representatives of Republic of Moldova organs of state power and of cities and rayons in the Dnestr region reached an agreement that henceforth no disputes would be resolved by force. As is well known, Russian deputies had helped them extinguish the flames of armed internecine strife which had just begun to flare up. The conciliation protocols signed by the sides sealed a list of urgent antifire measures.

But a month has passed and the conciliation commission's work has not only not advanced, worse still, it has ground to a halt. Accusing the Moldovan Government of violating the main point of the conciliation protocol—on the renunciation of pressure involving force—the Dnestr region authorities suspended the work of their delegation to the commission on 18 October. Nevertheless, three days later the Moldovan representatives turned up for the scheduled session pretending that they knew nothing of Tiraspol's decision.

Journalists assiduously recorded and assessed all this. For many of them, however, it was no secret why the people from the Right Bank failed to turn up for the session—this was their reaction to the instruction of L. Talmach, president of the National Bank of Moldova, not to pay for output received from Bendery and the Left Bank region until banks in the Dnestr region reregistered in Kishinev. Thus, 217 million rubles [R] earned by the Dnestr people was frozen.

The bank war began last spring when a succession of banks in the Dnestr region began opening accounts in cities in the Ukraine and stopped transferring money to and filing accounts with Kishinev. Tiraspol announced the creation of a "Pridnestrovskiy" State Bank independent of Moldova and also announced the adoption of laws on the budget and tax systems in the Dnestr Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Of course, Kishinev did not want to accept the collapse of a republic budget already denied R700 million by Left Bank bankers. The transfer of money outside Moldova, the outside credits which the Dnestr region people are accepting, the generosity of their commercial banks, which are ready to satisfy the various social needs—all these things, in the words of Moldovan financiers, are somewhat redolent of adventurism. As the Tiraspol newspaper DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA has reported, as of April all the social projects frozen by Moldova have been financed, a program of additional finance for priority social and production facilities has been adopted, and pensions have been raised. "How are we going to pay for all this?" the Moldova Finance Ministry says with horror. "This is not Moldova's problem, it belongs to our own Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic," is the view in the Dnestr region, an area with a powerful economic potential, which no longer wants to "feed the kindred republic."

But the economy is not to be trifled with, as we know. And whereas in recent months Moldova has pointedly ignored the political actions, decrees, and resolutions of a republic which, as far as it is concerned, does not even exist, it could not ignore the financial torpedo which has wrecked the budget. Prime Minister V. Muravskiy went to Tiraspol for talks. However, agreement was not reached. The Dnestr Republic does not want to be dependent on Moldova in any way. Its inhabitants, the majority of them at least, will not participate in the Moldovan presidential elections 8 December—they intend to elect their own republic's president a week earlier. Almost every day you read about some new event in the Tiraspol newspapers: the creation of the Union of Journalists and Union of Writers of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, the holding of a referendum on the independence of the Dnestr Republic, the latest draft to the USSR Armed Forces, the issuance of a postcard bearing the coat of arms of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. A large part of the population on the Left Bank of the Dnestr is living in the belief that their proclaimed republic is a reality. But on the Right Bank the majority are firmly convinced that there will be no dismemberment of Moldova. And if the idea of a federative Moldova consisting of three republics—the Right Bank, Gagauzia, and Dnestr Republics—is popular in Tiraspol, in Kishinev the mere mention of such a possibility is seen as blasphemy.

Is compromise possible? A difficult question. The Dnestr side put a rather blunt question on the agenda of the conciliation commission session which did not take place: On Moldova's de jure and de facto recognition of the existence of the Dnestr Republic and on the future federation (or confederation) of three republics. The Moldovan representatives proposed at first a different aspect to the discussion, namely: on the legislative and

judicial guarantees for the safeguarding of human rights in Moldova. That is, they want to examine, in essence, the underlying reasons which prompted the Left Bank to split from Moldova so as then to ask their opponents: If human rights and the rights of the minority are not going to be violated in the future, do you need the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic?

The leaders of the Moldovan parliament and government make no secret of their readiness for major concessions. It is already being said openly that the deadline for acquiring the state language, which has been prescribed by law for the Russian-speaking population of the Left Bank, is unrealistic and should be extended by about 10 more years. In the words of Moldovan First Deputy Prime Minister K. Oborok, the government, which is preparing a draft new administrative-territorial division of Moldova, agrees to discuss with people on the Left Bank the forms of self-management of the region most acceptable to them, its borders, and the possibility of its economic autonomy. Initially the discussion will be at the conciliation commission, later in parliament.

The Moldovan leaders' interest in settling relations with the Left Bank is obvious today. It is not just a question of the collapsing economy but also its future—the two river "banks" will suffer without one another. And there is another point: So long as the world map shows Moldova as a trouble spot it cannot expect Western recognition of its independence. Moldova, of course, does not want to be regarded as a region with unresolved ethnic minority rights problems, which is why it so cherishes the sympathies of world public opinion. In addition, it knows that its good relations with the Ukraine and Russia will largely depend on the kind of understanding it reaches with the Dnestr region's inhabitants.

Moldovan state officials today are convinced that the Left Bank separatists have no cogent reasons left to justify the existence of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. President Mircea Snegur's official statement on Moldova's course toward independence, which excludes unification with Romania, and his intention to sign the republics' economic agreement should, Kishinev believes, remove the Dnestr people's greatest fears. Guarantees of the rights of the Russian-speaking population, the elimination of linguistic discrimination, self-management, and economic autonomy—what else does it need for them to renounce the intention to split Moldova? If all the promises are kept the separatists will hardly find understanding in Russia or the Ukraine, which are concerned solely with the fate of their fellow countrymen, not with the fact of the existence of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, whose example fuels separatist passions on their territories, too.

What is now stopping the Left Bank people from coming to the negotiating table and reaching agreement? Primarily, a lack of faith in the sincerity of the Moldovan leaders' assurances. For example, the assurance that there can be no question of a rapid reunification with Romania. The Dnestr Region's people want solid guarantees that they will not be separated by force or trickery from the Ukraine and Russia.

Deputy Minister Details Economic 'Crisis'

LD1011095291 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 10 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev November 10 TASS—Moldavia's economic position over the past nine months of the current year can be described as crisis, Yakov Mogorianu, Moldavian deputy minister of the national economy, told TASS.

The main traits of the economic situation are the continuation of production slump, the disruption of economic ties, a growing budget deficit, amounting to almost one billion roubles, the break-up of money circulation, an inflationary spiral, and decline in the population's living standards, Mogorianu said. The republic's national income decreased by 13.7 per cent compared with the same period of last year, the production of food diminished by 16 per cent and industrial output shrank by 7.3 per cent, he added.

The deputy minister believes that such a situation has been brought on by the scarcity of metal, timber, fuel, raw materials for the light industry, and chemical components.

The supply of gasoline and other types of fuel decreased by nine per cent. The republic's requirements for petroleum products, chemical components and raw materials have been chronically unsatisfied, Mogorianu said.

Muravskiy Says No Pressure To Sign Economic Pact

LD0811225391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 8 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 8 Nov (TASS)—Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy has denied rumors that Moldova supposedly signed the Economic Community Treaty under pressure from Russian President Yeltsin, who was halting deliveries of oil products to the republic.

"This decision was dictated by the reality of our existence," he emphasized, speaking to journalists. "The West is not waiting for us with open arms. Cooperation with the East, with which we are well integrated, under the new conditions will give the Moldovan economy a reasonable chance. I would like to note that signing the treaty is only half of the matter. The republics still have to reach agreement on banking activities, taxation policy, and other spheres of economic cooperation."

The prime minister noted that Moldova could become a sort of channel offering access to the Eastern market for

neighboring Romania and for other European countries—particularly as it is aiming for integration with both the East and the West.

Winter of 'Critically Low Fuel Stocks' Seen

LD1211143591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The Moldovan power system is entering the autumn-winter period with critically low fuel stocks. The general director of the republic's association for power engineering and electrification reports that coal in Moldova currently amounts to only 45 percent of the total amount for the corresponding period last year.

Decisions Made on Internal, Border Troops

LD1311053591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1348 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Kishinev, 12 Nov (MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS)—Only citizens of Moldova will serve in the republican Internal and Border Troops. In accordance with a decree by Moldova's President Mircea Snegur young people in the republic subject to call-up to the Army in November-December this year will be sent for two years in these forces, which will also be filled with emigrants from the republic who are doing military service in the USSR's Internal and Border Troops outside Moldovan territory. It is also envisaged to accept for military service Moldovan citizens transferred to the reserves who have expressed a wish to serve on the border and in the police.

Snegur's U.S. Visit To Clarify Relations

OW1311003191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Minister of Foreign Relations Nikolay Tsyu told journalists that in the U.S. he had talks with representatives of the Congress and State Department on establishing independent relations between Moldova and the U.S.

Prospects for the relationships between the U.S. and Moldova are expected to become clear during the forthcoming visit of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur to the U.S.

Mr. Tsyu said that the two countries would possibly exchange economic representatives.

Snegur Addresses Media on Press Problems

AU1211214691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2125 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1991—Moldova's President Mircea Ion Snegur met with representatives of all mass media in Moldova at his residence, Tuesday 12 November.

Gheorghe Danu, chairman of the Moldovan Journalists Union, revealed a number of problems most of the written and audio-visual press in Moldova is confronted with.

President Snegur gave assurances to the media that he would back the efforts for solving such issues as paper shortage, the relationships of the press house with the "Universul" Publishing House and the improvement of working and living conditions for press workers nationwide.

Snegur Receives Entrepreneurs 12 Nov

AU1211181291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kisinev] ROMPRES, 12/11/1991—The president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, received a group of representatives of the Lease Holders and Entrepreneurs Union and of the Industrial-Scientific Union, reports MOLDOVA PRES agency. The entrepreneurs advanced several proposals to stimulate the economy toward market relationships.

One of the major moments in the parliament's activity must be the legislative work. In future, decisions should be made so as to exclude measures that run counter to the activity of entrepreneurs and limit its framework. The conviction was expressed that the election of Moldova's president by the people would enable faster application of the radical economic reform in the republic.

During the meeting the entrepreneurs suggested that a legally independent body should be set up to register the new small and cooperative enterprises as well as a board of entrepreneurs. The proposals were positively received by the president who opined that price liberalization should also be accomplished in Moldova if it started to be applied in Russia from December 1.

Bundestag Deputy Visits, Meets Snegur

AU1211180491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1651 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1991—Upon an invitation of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Egon Juttner, deputy in Germany's Bundestag, paid a short visit to Moldova, announced the agency "MOLDOVA PRES."

The German guest was received by President Mircea Snegur and had interviews at the parliamentary Commission for Foreign Affairs, at "Dacia" Association of Relations With the World, at the Germans' Republican Center of Culture, at the chair of Germanic languages of the State University of Moldova. He also met businessmen in the republic.

During the meetings, the guest mentioned that he wanted to get informed about realities in Moldova, especially as concerns the social-political state, as the information available in Germany is often distorted.

At the close of his visit, Mr. Egon Juttner said that he was impressed with the efforts of the parliament, of the president of the republic to obtain the state independence of the Republic of Moldova. He expressed his conviction that, on the basis of his observations, he will be able to convince the Bundestag deputies to promote the idea of recognising the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Prosecutor Denied Permission To Arrest Deputy

LD1311111791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] The Moldovan procurator has asked the parliament presidium for permission to arrest Ilie Bratu, a people's deputy in the republic. A member of the People's Front Executive Committee, Bratu has of late repeatedly organized mass actions in Kishinev and called upon citizens to boycott the upcoming presidential elections. During these demonstrations disturbances were provoked and insulting attacks were permitted against Moldova's current president Mircea Snegur. In March this year Bratu and his supporters forcibly ejected workers at one of the Communist Party rayon committees from their building. The parliament presidium did not sanction the arrest of Ilie Bratu.

Nongovernmental Organizations Appeal to Romania

OW1311011591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the Popular Front and of nine other non-governmental organizations of Moldova, among them the Christian Democratic Women's League, the cultural and religious society "Metropolitan Varlaam" and the Organization of the Democratic Youth, have urged the president and Senate of Romania to take into account the interests of all Romanians wherever they live, as the new constitution was being drafted.

The authors of the appeal are campaigning for the restortation of a united Romanian state within the 1918 borders, including, besides present-day Moldova, North Bukovina and the south of the Ukraine's Odessa region.

Ukraine

Foreign Minister Views Plans for Own Currency

LD1111223891 Moscow TASS in English 2221 GMT 11 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sedov]

[Text] Geneva November 12 TASS—Ukraine is planning to introduce its own currency in the near future, said Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko at the top executives round table discussion in the Lozanne International School of Management. As a first step Ukraine is introducing its "coupons" which are to replace gradually the Soviet rubles on the internal market.

Zlenko confirmed his republic's adherence to the non-nuclear state strategy which envisages reduction of its troops from the present-day 1.5 million to 400 thousand in the near future.

Deputy Foreign Minister Andrey Kolosovskiy also taking part in the discussion said national self-determination processes in the former Soviet republics are of tremendous psychological value for their movement towards market economy. Describing the situation in Russia he informed Western businessmen of a decision taken by the Russian leadership to introduce tight economic measures including a reduction of state subsidies for priority consumer goods.

Demonstrators Protest Military Exercises

OW1211130191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1155 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A demonstration has been held in Rovno, the Ukraine, in protest against a Defense Ministry plan to stage military exercises in the region to check the combat readiness of local troops. Pro-democracy activists maintain, however, that the war games are intended to intimidate the people on the eve of the December 1 referendum on Ukrainian independence and presidential elections.

Transcarpathian Autonomy Referendum Noted

PM1111124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent S. Troyan: "Transcarpathian Oblast: Voices in Favor of Autonomy Are Being Heard"]

[Text] Uzhgorod—The oblast soviet deputies' corps has almost ceased its activity. New elections of the organ of power should be held before March next year in this, recently the most peaceful region of the Ukraine.

A little over a month ago the chairman of the soviet and his deputy were forced to resign. But even after that peace did not reign here. And now the deputies who, M. Kraylo, the soviet deputy chairman, says, have gathered for the penultimate time are deciding at the same time as the election of the Ukrainian president and the republican referendum to hold a local poll of the population. On 1 December voters must answer the question of whether they want the Transcarpathian Oblast, where Slovaks and Czechs, Hungarians and Romanians, Gypsies and Germans live together with Ukrainians and Russians, to receive the status of an autonomous territory as a subject within an independent Ukraine or to join any other administrative-territorial formations.

As the newspaper ZAKARPATSKAYA PRAVDA notes, the former Communist Party members, who comprise the majority in the oblast soviet and who until 19 August this year preached internationalism, have almost unanimously become autonomists. The supporters of the oblast's present status and those who see it as an autonomous territory have appealed to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. It will have the last word.

Oblast To Hold Hungarian Minority Referendum

LD0811000491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 91

[Text] In Beregovskiy Rayon of Zakarpatskaya Oblast a decision was made to hold a referendum on the question of creating an autonomous Hungarian district there. The referendum is planned for 1 December, when, in accordance with a decision of the Zakarpatskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, an opinion poll on the autonomy of the region is to be held. The Ukrainian parliament instructed a special commission to assess the situation.

Republic Military Doctrine, Structure Discussed

924C0113A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Oct 91 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Skachko: "Ukraine Parliament Approves Republic's Defense Doctrine: It Assumes Having Own Army and Navy"]

[Text] At the meeting of the Ukraine parliament on 22 October, led by generals and colonels who had developed a package of laws on the military, the deputies passed five such laws in a matter of hours.

The parliamentarians approved in the first reading the concept of defense and the Armed Forces, the republic guard, the border troops, and the Ukraine state border, and appointed and confirmed the commanders of the guard and the border troops. They are Colonel Vladimir Kukharets and the current chief of troops of the Western Border District, Lieutenant General Valeriy Gubenko.

Such speedy passage of laws on the military is also the result of the fact that the idea of the Ukraine is in need of having its own troops has been long shared by deputies, and there was nobody to object (with the exception of some guests).

Thus, the principles of the Ukraine military doctrine are: defensive, sufficient, nuclear-free, peace-loving, and humanistic. The troops formations have their clearly defined functions and tasks. The Armed Forces (ground, Navy, and Air Force, numbering 400,000-450,000 people) defend from external enemies. The republic guard (numbering 35,000-45,000 in each oblast and major city) maintains order and the constitutional system inside the country. The border troops (Western Military District troops) protect all borders. Higher military schools (there are 33 of them in the Ukraine) train cadres; and technical and auxiliary units provide combat readiness support.

In order to provide the Ukraine with defense of the highest quality and to make sure that its soldiers want for nothing, a colonel from Zaporozhye, Deputy Valeriy Izmalkov, proposed to create under the Cabinet of Ministers a sector or a committee for social protection of the military, and, under the republic Academy of Sciences—a scientific research institute for military-strategic research. The deputies voted in concert for this proposal. To avoid police mentality in the troops activities, Deputy Sergey Kolesnik from Donbass proposed that the troops should take an oath of allegiance not to the president or the parliament, but to the people of the Ukraine. He was promised that this proposal would be considered.

During the period of transition, the Ukraine will have nuclear arms, but in the future it is to become nuclear-free. The troops will be professional, but for now they will have mixed manning—both on a contract and draft basis. The military will be free to express their religious feelings, and are not even prohibited from engaging in private enterprise in free time. The activities of all parties without exception are banned in the Army.

Armenia

Emergency Steps Taken To Ease Energy Crisis

PM1211123991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 2

[A. Khanbabyan report under the rubric "Matter of Urgency" and under general heading "Winter Is No Joke:" "Yerevan"]

[Text] An intensive search is continuing in Armenia for a way out of the energy crisis in which the republic has found itself as a result of the latest blockade—this time a gas blockade. And once again, like six decades ago, the statesmen's gaze has turned to Lake Sevan.

Once upon a time, a series of hydroelectric power stations was built on the only river, the Razdan, that flows out of the lake. At that time it was not common practice to think about ecology. For years, Lake Sevan gave its strength to the rapidly developing industry, meantime becoming catastrophically shallow. People suddenly came to their senses when the level of the lake fell by 18 meters. Resources were not spared in saving the unique reservoir. A 48-km tunnel was bored through the mountains through which the waters of the Arpa River rushed to the assistance of Armenia's "blue pearl." At the same time the use of Lake Sevan's water for irrigation purposes was sharply reduced. As a result a hope appeared that the lake could be revived in all its inimitable beauty.

But the present situation is dictating its harsh decisions. The Armenian Council of Ministers resolved that, as an emergency measure, 2.5 million cubic meters of truly priceless water be allowed to be drawn from Lake Sevan every day. This will enable the Razdan series of hydroelectric power stations to operate at full capacity again and, it is assumed, prevent the total collapse on the brink of which Armenia now stands.

Other emergency measures are also being taken in order to relieve the situation. All industrial enterprises—apart from bread baking plants—have been stopped, and their workers sent on unscheduled leave. The possibility of moving the clocks yet again is being examined.

President Ter-Petrosyan Sets Policy Objectives

NC1311090091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 Nov 91

["Address delivered by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to the special session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 11 November"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 12 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Your Holiness, honorable chairman, esteemed deputies and guests, the words I used in expressing my allegiance to the Armenian Constitution and our national and state interests before this venerable auditorium—before our worthiest representatives—when taking the oath a few moments ago were not mere pronouncements suited to the occasion but rather the condensed expression of Armenians' lifetime aspirations. [passage omitted]

Though our actions are mostly contingent on unpredictable and disparate outside factors, with proper political wisdom and flexibility we will be able to influence—as demonstrated by the effective year-long independence experiment—the course of developments and lead our republic's transformation where we want, that is toward an independent and law-based state, a multiparty system, a democratic society, and a free market economy.

There is no alternative; any other path will lead to destruction and more calamities. We have no right to miss this historic opportunity and place ourselves and future generations at an impasse, especially since the domestic political atmosphere in the republic is very conducive to radical reforms in the political, social, and economic spheres. I have in mind the unprecedented unity and solidarity the people displayed during the referendum on independence and the presidential election, which expressed the people's indisputable confidence in the political course chosen by the republic's authorities and its consistent actions, despite the many mistakes.

Another beneficial factor is that our republic is a step ahead of the other former Soviet republics on the road to implementing economic reforms.

Thus, all the preconditions and necessary positive and negative factors exist for us to independently determine our fortune and destiny. Before earnestly embarking on our radical program, however, we have to get through a very serious important trial. As a result of the unstable situation—power vacuum even—in the Soviet Union and the unreliable economic ties between republics, our republic is facing an extremely serious energy crisis. Though the government has adopted extraordinary conservation measures, such as an intermittent power supply, and has adopted other administrative measures, it is obvious that additional and more effective political and economic steps should be implemented. The search for and implementation of these steps remains at the center of republican authorities' attention. Regarding the republic's food stocks, there is no threat to the minimum vital requirements for the winter.

It goes without saying that alongside efforts to surmount the energy crisis and provide foodstuffs, the republic's authorities have to formulate and implement other political and economic measures. My brief address at today's ceremony is not the appropriate place to give a detailed presentation of the republic's long-term socioeconomic development program, but I consider it necessary to dwell on a number of vital problems.

Regarding restructuring state and domestic policy:

1. To improve and adapt as soon as possible the current state structure to modern requirements of social progress; to legislatively separate the jurisdictions of the legislative, executive, and judiciary organs; to ensure a vertical structure of the executive organ; to promote parliament's legislative activity; to bolster the independence of the judiciary organ.

2. To ensure, through the framework of laws, the unfettered expression of civil rights and full freedom of activities for popular political organizations. To specify special rules for political parties so they can use various state-controlled mass media, particularly radio and television services.

3. To raise the accountability and productivity of law enforcement organs; to end the atmosphere of impunity prevailing in the republic; to wage an uncompromising struggle against bribery, embezzlement of state property, and crimes threatening citizens' security and property.

4. To prevent agglomeration of state and special enterprises and the illegal practice of creating cooperative enterprises in state-owned establishments.

5. To create an Armenian Defense Ministry, under which should be placed the structure of civil defense, DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Army, Navy, and Air Force], the military commissariat, and the national guard, organized on the basis of the internal troop units.

6. To return, in accordance with lawful procedures, all draftees who have dodged their service to their Army units stationed in the republic by 31 December 1991. To fill the ranks of the 7th Soviet Army stationed in the republic with local draftees by the same deadline, and to organize military service outside the republic strictly on a volunteer basis.

Regarding the socioeconomic sphere:

1. To comprehensively implement and conclude within six months to a year privatization of the industries processing agricultural products; light, construction, and food industries; and the trade and service sector. The state ownership monopoly should be maintained only in energy, mines, and heavy industry. With the implementation of the aforementioned measures an independent economic substructure will finally emerge in the republic governed by domestic market relations and freed from the arbitrary affects of outside factors.

2. To create a relevant legislative foundation by the end of this year to facilitate the infusion of foreign capital, particularly by quickly adopting laws on "foreign investments," and "taxes."

3. To institute strict tax control. The entire revenue from privatization and a substantial part of the revenues from taxation should be allocated to satisfy social needs and implement special programs for the disaster zone and refugees.

4. Taking into account the lack of coordinated deadlines in implementing economic reforms in the former Soviet republics and the resulting tendency toward inequality, measures should be taken to protect the republic's domestic market, and for this purpose a republican customs service should be created and a national currency should be introduced in the near future.

Regarding foreign policy:

1. Considering that the most serious shortcoming of the present leadership of the republic has been observed in foreign relations, it is necessary to quickly activate the Foreign Ministry and create energetic ties with all countries of interest to us.

2. While aspiring to full political independence, to become a subject of international law and a member of the United Nations, our interest requires participation in restructuring processes taking place in the former Soviet Union and the interrepublican economic and political organs, if not because we believe in the success of those processes then at least to spare the republic from undesirable shocks.

3. To continue signing bilateral economic and political treaties with all the former Soviet republics, beginning with Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan.

4. To be guided by the spirit of the Zheleznovodsk communique in relations with Azerbaijan and to implement all the points noted in the communique through peaceful negotiations.

5. To establish stable trade and economic ties with our immediate neighbors Turkey and Iran with the aim of transforming impenetrable Armenia into a dynamic international crossroads.

In concluding the enumeration of the urgent matters facing the republic, I find it necessary to emphasize that I am not promising miracles. I have never been accustomed to making empty promises, and again with a profound sense of responsibility I categorically reject promises of miracles. I have always tried to place before myself and my people small problems that can be solved.

The problems I have enumerated can be solved but only through hard work, mobilization of political forces, and the people's confidence.

If after one year we manage to realize even three-quarters of them—and I am sure that if we display such abilities this will be achieved—then we will face next winter with optimism and incomparable stability.

Otherwise, next year I will again ask for the people's confidence through a referendum.

I believe in our people's wisdom and creative spirit and this belief inspires me with strength and optimism.

Thank you for your attention.

Ter-Petrosyan Plans To Liberalize Prices

LD1111203291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] The Armenian president said that it is evident that liberalized prices will have to be introduced in the republic earlier than planned. According to his words, this is caused by the policy of Russia's leadership. Incidentally, a price ceiling will be introduced for a number of goods, and also an effective mechanism for compensating the needy ones will be elaborated. Ter-Petrosyan stated that famine does not threaten the republic's population this winter and basic needs will be met.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Explains Ending Gas Supply to Armenia

PM1311091591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, Russian Information Agency, TASS roundup under the "News" rubric: "Mutalibov Turned Off the Tap. Parliament Supported Him"]

[Text] Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov has supported the termination of the gas supply to Armenia. Addressing a session of the republic Supreme Soviet, he said that the compressor stations will be inoperative until the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is stabilized and Yerevan stops interfering in the autonomous oblast's affairs.

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet adopted a statement which says, in particular, that the creation of its own Armed Forces is an enforced measure. Its chief aim is to stabilize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in regions bordering on Armenia, to end Armenia's aggression, and to defend sovereign and independent Azerbaijan. The Armed Forces, the statement points out, will not be used against the subunits of the USSR Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs stationed in Azerbaijan. Violations of the rights of servicemen and their families will be severely punished.

The Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal to parliamentarians of sovereign states, urging them to "raise their voice in protest at the neighboring republic's acts of enormity."

NKAO 'Paralyzed' by Lack of Fuel

LD1211193291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Life in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] is paralyzed due to the absence of fuel. Bread deliveries to shops are intermittent, public transportation is not working, and ambulances have stopped answering emergency calls.

The fuel situation is no better in northern Russia, in Karelia. During the first 10 days of November, not a gram of fuel or lubricant has reached here from Leningrad Oblast. To sort the situation out, the Karelian Council of Ministers has decided to set up a special commission.

Mutalibov Backs Economic Community Treaty

OW1211030191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov, said that his republic must join the Economic Community Treaty.

In view of this he told IF [INTERFAX] that the parliament should review its previous decision not to sign the treaty.

"One must admit that for 70 years we have existed amid tough economic integration and that it is impossible to break these links. "He who will try to break them will act to his own detriment," he said.

12 Nov Supreme Soviet Activities Detailed

Law on Armed Forces Adopted

LD1211184191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A statement by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet made in connection with the adoption of the law on republican Armed Forces states that setting up its own Armed Forces is not aimed against the military units and formations of the USSR Ministry of Defense and of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that are stationed on the territory of Azerbaijan. The formation of its own Armed Forces is a forced step aimed at stabilizing the situation in the areas bordering on Armenia, at ensuring the security and sovereignty of the republic.

Deterioration in NKAO Noted

LD1211130991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet has addressed the parliaments of the sovereign states in connection with the sharp deterioration of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and border areas of the republic. The text of the appeal is published in Azerbaijan's newspapers today. The MP's [members of parliament] believe that the situation is being worsened by the failure of the Armenian side to fulfill the conditions of the communique signed by the presidents of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,

Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan in Zheleznovodsk. In their appeal, the Azerbaijan MP's express hope for solidarity in such fundamental matters as the inviolability of borders and the territorial integrity of every sovereign state.

Defense Minister Views Establishing Army

LD0811220691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Azerbaijan Defense Minister Lieutenant General Vali Eyyb Ogly Bezhadly by television correspondent M. Mamedov, in Azerbaijan Defense Ministry Building, date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense has embarked on setting up its own military subunits. It is expected that in several months the republic will have its own army.

[Mamedov] This department is located on one of the central streets of the city, the Azerbaijan Prospekt. The head is the 64 year old Lieutenant General Vali Eyyb Ogly Bezhadly. He has been in the Army since he was 16. He has graduated from two academies—of armored troops and the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Bezhadly] It seems to me that the center wants so-called toy soldiers [refering to a regiment of boy soldiers formed by Peter the Great] to be set up in the republics. However, this does not suit us. Our president has declared on more than one occasion at the State Council that we will set up our army on lawful conditions, on the basis of the law, and we will not set up bandit formations, but a lawful, constitutional army, capable of defending the interests of our republic.

Stepanakert Television Resumes Broadcasts

NC1111160791 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The State Television Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh republic has announced that Stepanakert Television will resume its work on 11 November. The experimental transmissions have already resumed.

Reporter Reviews Week's Events in Republic

LD1111045191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Report from Baku by correspondent Azer Khalilov]

[Text] The center accuses Azerbaijan of being the cause of the problem of gas supply to Armenia, which has appeared as a result of the constant shelling of the Kazakh region carried out by Armenians themselves. The declaration of independence, together with the fact that Azerbaijan refused to sign the economic agreement, has been met by an inadequate reaction by the center.

According to a report by SVOBODA newspaper, a coded message from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was intercepted. The message instructed the Internal Troops units stationed in the republic to dismantle both radio and telephone equipment and take it out of the republic. If it cannot be taken out, it is to be destroyed. This also applies to Army equipment. It is a pity that taxpayers' money was wasted.

The republican parliament discussed at its meeting the preparation of anti-Russian provocations in Azerbaijan by the center. It has been noticed that special [word indistinct] are being sent to Baku. The parliament adopted an appeal to states and peoples of the world in order to inform the world public about the Kremlin's plot. Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov, who the parliament urged to attend the session, presented an account of his meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev, which had occurred the day before. The results of the meeting are depressing. Gorbachev will not allow a national army to be established. Armenian guerrillas will not be withdrawn from the territory of Azerbaijan. The Soviet Army will not interfere in the course of the conflict. Deputies are not surprised by the results of the conversation. The results convinced them that Azerbaijan should defend itself against Armenian aggression using its own forces.

On the evening of 9 November, a report came from Turkey saying that the Turkish Government officially and unconditionally recogizes the restoration of Azerbaijani state independence.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia on Need for Independence Recognition

LD1311094191 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—"We cannot conclude a treaty on economic community without recognition of Geogia's independence", Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of Georgia said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER), a Soviet daily.

"This treaty should be signed by legally independent states. Otherwise it may lead to unworkable consequences and to losing the sovereignty of the republic, this time—forever. New approaches are necessary, namely: recognition of independence of the republics while simultaneous signing political, economic and other treaties and agreements", he stressed.

According to Gamsakhurdia, "the centre objects to recognising independence of republics, including Georgia, to retain the empire which it inherited, and now the centre intends to use it 'with more wisdom' than it had been doing for more than seventy years".

"Western countries are afraid of a full disintegration of the Soviet Union not only because there may be many

states possessing nuclear weapons but, evidently, also fearing all of "them might become [word indistinct] to the West. We are not going to be a burden to anyone", president of Georgia emphasised.

Condemns Yeltsin's Chechen Stance

OW1011170391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia urged the Georgian population to "combat" the non-parliamentary Georgian opposition.

Addressing a meeting in front of the House of Government in Tbilisi, on November 9, the president said that "the gang led by Tengiz Sigua and Tengiz Kitovani (Georgia's ex-premier and the commander of the national guard units which refused to obey Gamsakhurdia—IF [INTERFAX]) would not even deserve to be talked about if their thoughtless actions had not hampered the international recognition of Georgia.

"As long as this gang goes undestroyed, there will be no peace in Georgia," said the president.

Speaking about the relationships between Georgia and Russia, the president said that when Boris Yeltsin was in opposition and struggled for democracy in the Russian Federation, he was on our side. "Now that Yeltsin is suppressing the aspirations of the Chechen people, I'm against him," he said.

Renames, Takes Charge of State Organ

AU0811155691 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1406 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Decree of the president of the Republic of Georgia on the transformation of the Republic of Georgia State Control Department into the State Control Committee; issued in Tbilisi on 7 November]

[Text] To transform the Republic of Georgia State Control Department into the State Control Committee and to place it under the direct authority of the president of the Republic of Georgia.

To present for ratification at the next session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council the draft law on the introduction of corresponding changes in the Republic of Georgia Law on the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers of 26 August 1991.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
[Dated] Tbilisi, 7 November 1991

Appoints Deputy Defense Minister

AU1111135191 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 30 Oct 91 p 1

["Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the appointment of T.U. Loriya as deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Georgia" issued in Tbilisi on 29 October]

[Text] To appoint Teymuraz Ushangovich Loriya as deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
[Date] Tbilisi, 29 October 1991.

Interior Ministry Troops To Leave by Jul 1992

OW1311005091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Head of the Central Administration for the Internal Troops of Georgia, Vano Chelidze, has told IF [INTERFAX] that he has had information from Moscow according to which the USSR Internal Troops stationed on Georgian territory will be withdrawn from the republic by July 1, 1992. The Georgian Internal Troops now being formed would, he said, be used to maintain law and order in the republic and guard certain establishments.

Armed Clashes Continue in South Ossetia

LD1311112191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] A new spiral of armed confrontation between the Georgian and Ossetian sides has occurred over the last few days in the already tense situation in South Ossetia. This is connected, as TASS stresses, with the situation on the territory of the crisis areas not being under the control of the government of the Republic of Georgia.

According to the information of the press center of the information committee of the autonomous oblast, last night shots rang out again in the suburbs of Tskhinvali and in the villages of Znaurskiy Rayon. Guerrillas were firing from Georgian villages, and the Ossetian side opened up with retaliatory fire. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

Republic Hesitates on Signing Economic Treaty

OW1111064791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There is still no certainty about whether or not Georgia will sign the Economic Community Treaty, Georgia's Prime Minister, Vazgen Gugushvili, said at a press conference in Tbilisi on November 9.

He said that the deputies must get back to this question once again. There is only one stumbling block, said the prime minister: the former republics must recognize Georgia's independence.

Acting Minister Discusses Food Supplies

LD1111153391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Georgian Acting Trade Minister Zurab Kopaliani believes there will be no hunger in the republic. In Georgia there are 2,500 tons of meat, 1,200 tons of butter, and 1,000 tons of sugar.

Contracts for the supply of sugar have been concluded with Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine. Negotiations are under way with firms in Germany, Italy, India, and Sweden for the supply of foodstuffs to Georgia.

Monetary Unit To Circulate With Dollar, Ruble

OW1211142391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1155 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's Prime Minister Vazgen Gugushvili has told journalists that the government is doing its best to introduce a republican monetary unit in the near future already. He noted that the new currency would circulate in the republic simultaneously with U.S. dollars and, for the first few months, with Soviet rubles.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev's Sole Presidential Candidacy Noted

LD1211144191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev is the only candidate for president of Kazakhstan: The republic's Central Electoral Commission announced this today. The presidential elections are set for 1 December.

Nazarbayev Makes Election Campaign Pledge

LD1211185691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 12 Nov 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov and TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 12 November (TASS)—Our republic will continue as before to fulfill its contractual obligations for supplies within the Union. This was stated by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev at a meeting with the voters of the western rayons of the republic. In order to achieve what we have planned, he noted, we need economic stability as well as political one. And we have no place for extremism here. "We," the Kazakhstan president said, "support sincere friendship between all the peoples of the former Union."

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Remarks on Move to National Currencies

PM1211100591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev report: "Any Currency You Like, As Long As It Is Hard"]

[Text] Bishkek—Speaking at a news conference at the end of his state visit to the United States, Kyrgyz President A. Akayev stated that the republics are being forced to introduce national currencies because of the total collapse of the country's financial system.

"This is not separatism, but a flight from a worthless ruble. If the 'tricolor ruble' [rubl s polosoy] which Russia is now talking about is a hard currency, we will happily join this system."

While generally supporting Russian President B. Yeltsin's program to overcome the economic crisis, A. Akayev expressed doubt about the effectiveness of ill-considered price liberalization.

"Such a measure is unlikely to improve the economy," he said. "There will still be no goods. If liberalization goes ahead anyway, we too will be forced to let prices 'float.' But there will be the worst possible consequences for our republic."

President Akayev Interviewed on Goals

OW1211095791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During the first 100 days after taking office, the president of Kyrghyzstan, Askar Akayev, plans to introduce radical land reforms and to start programs of privatization and denationalization. Mr. Akayev stated in an exclusive interview with an "INTERFAX" correspondent, however, that the most pressing problem is how to survive the hard winter.

The president has said that in order to feed the population, Kyrghyzstan needs to import grain. This is due to the fact that Russia, Kazakhstan, and other republics cannot make deliveries, due to bad harvests.

Mr. Akayev is in favour of establishing equal, mutually profitable relations with all of the former Union republics, although "relations with Russia, with whom we have about 70% of all economic ties, are pivotal."

The Kyrghyz president noted the possibility of uniting the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into one regional market, but he is not in favour of establishing a political union. "We have only just found freedom and independence, dismantled an empire, and I do not feel that it is necessary to rush to create a new one on a lesser scale," Mr. Akayev emphasized.

In its foreign policies, the president has said that Kyrghyzstan will give priority to economic and humanitarian ties ith countries in South-East Asia, with Japan, South Korea, and with such countries as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. In Mr. Akayev's opinion, above all the republic needs to send economists, bankers, and managers out of the country to study, and not by the tens, but by the thousands.

President Akayev Issues Land Tenure Decree

LD1211143291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Kyrgyz President Akayev issued a decree regulating land tenure in agriculture. The soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to allocate by 1 February 1992 1.5 million hectares from areas not being used and to distribute this land by the start of spring field works to townsfolk and rural residents along with the right to inherit it. To promote the development of peasant enterprises, it has also been decided to establish a national land fund with an area of no less than 50 percent of all irrigated arable land in the republic of Kyrgyzstan. For this purpose, land will be taken from farms with low profits and from farms that maintain losses.

Political Situation, President's Role Viewed

PM1211151391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 2

[Yuriy Razgulyayev article under the rubric "Kyrgyzstan: View From the Region": "Politics Will Not Tolerate a Vacuum"]

[Text] Bishkek—Kyrgyz President A. Akayev recently returned from a visit to the United States, where he was received for the first time as head of a sovereign, independent state. Many Americans were interested in the radical changes being made in this remote mountainous region, which, until recently, was quiet and almost unknown. The guest's personality also drew attention. His principled stand during the August coup and his decisive measures to liberalize the economy are seen as an important impetus for these changes.

Akayev also has a high popularity rating at home. The first nationwide presidential elections in the republic produced extraordinary results: More than 95 percent of those who took part voted for Akayev. Incidentally, on the initiative of the candidate himself, the voting was monitored by representatives of all the fraternal parliaments plus almost 30 foreign correspondents.

The observers did find one flaw, however: There was only one candidate.

Akayev himself spoke of this with regret. But there was nothing he could do: No worthy rival could be found! Akayev's great personal prestige and his energetic, "almost American" style of conducting his election campaign are not the only explanation for this. D. Amanbayev, former first secretary of the Kyrgyz Communist Party Central Committee, could perhaps have offered some real competition. He too is quite popular and has his own views on Kyrgyzstan's development—very different from Akayev's, of course. Unfortunately, after the events in August, the Communist Party was essentially disbanded and its leaders excluded from the elections.

It would be appropriate to add that removing the Communist Party from the political arena has created a really unique situation in the republic. Only one section of this arena is now occupied, where the "Kyrgyzstan" democratic movement is stepping up its action. It has produced the only registered political party. But even this movement is experiencing a kind of inferiority complex and even some confusion. Who should it "challenge"? After all, the constant object of criticism and attacks—the Communist Party—is no longer in the picture.

Other movements and associations have not really shown their worth in the political battle so far. The "National Unity" democratic movement has held its first, founding congress. It has set itself the aim of bringing together all forces which support democratic transformations and uniting them in the struggle for civil peace and national accord. However, people are still wary of this movement at present. Yes, it has set itself a noble aim, everyone values civil peace, and the mere thought of possible interethnic conflict frightens people no less than empty shelves in the stores. But some people are put off by the fact that the "National Unity" leadership includes former party functionaries. Few are likely to dispute their right to take part in the movement. If someone shares its ideas and objectives, there is no reason why they should not participate. So the question is obviously this: How sincere are party apparatchiks when they say they have reformed their views and is it only skin-deep? One must suppose that time will tell....

In short, Kyrgyzstan's democratic space and its political space as a whole are still in the formative stages. Naturally, this distribution of forces during the elections guaranteed the only candidate "most favored status." All that is true. However, the victory celebrations could not fail to be succeeded by humdrum reality: The time has come to get down to hard work and, most important of all, drag the economy from the deep abyss of crisis. But lack of political experience and what amounts to a political vacuum in society are showing their unpleasant side and offering scope for some very dangerous situations to arise.

For example, the president has already come up against an apparently long forgotten phenomenon: tribal division. The previous authorities did a great deal to eradicate this "vestige of the past" and thereby facilitate administration of this small but ethnically rather complex republic. However, the very first gust of freedom fanned the smoldering, by no means extinguished coals. Passions have flared again and, under their influence, the Supreme Soviet session is making the decision to return to the old practise of dividing the republic into six oblasts, whose geographical borders essentially coincide with their ethnographic equivalents. You can understand deputies' position: They are under pressure from the "masses below." Patriotism is good as long as it does not develop into parochialism and, more especially, outright nationalism. Unfortunately, the first signs of both have already appeared. They have begun to divide collective and state farms in the Chu Valley and Talas Valley. The exchange of cadres between regions has almost stopped, and "who was born where" is increasingly often the main criterion in elections.

Radical restructuring and the smashing of the old system probably could not fail to be accompanied by various "outbursts" and excesses. It is important to become aware of these phenomena in good time, make them governable, and guard against constant changes of direction caused by unthinking submission to a total lack of control. Many people realize this, but how should they act in real-life conditions? With a determination surprising for a "representative of the intelligentsia," President Akayev has completely rejected the old system, the backbone of which was the statist Communist Party. Of course, the fact that the leadership of the Communist Party Central Committee supported the unconstitutional

State Committee for the State of Emergency encouraged the president to take this step. That is all true. But what about the future?

I shall venture the idea that, although he has almost total support from the people, the new president can look forward to some difficult times ahead. Not only because, like all perestroyka leaders, he will probably have to make some tough, unpopular decisions. There is also another aspect. The recently much criticized party apparatus—albeit bureaucratic and ossified—extended its influence to every collective. At best, that has been replaced by a bare vertical chain of management from the central apparatus to the village soviet. What often happens is that a command is issued at the top, only to fizzle out and be lost at the bottom. Remember what happened to the presidential decree on improving shepherds' social conditions, for example. A good document! But not as effective as it could be. The president does not always find support in the Kyrgyz parliament.

It is a well-known fact that any comparison leaves much to be desired. Especially when you are talking about such dissimilar concepts as physics and politics, for example. But I shall risk it anyway. We all know that sound does not carry in a vacuum. Of course, the political situation in Kyrgyzstan should not be likened to a vacuum, but its democratic space is rather rarefied, in my opinion. That is why the progressive ideas of the president and his team often fade out in the upper echelons of power, failing to find support.

I can foresee that my words may not please those who are used to regarding Kyrgyzstan as a kind of leader in Central Asia when it comes to implementing radical political and economic reforms. But I am not disputing that! It is certainly true that this small republic, which people were once eager to call a "conservative stronghold," has not only managed to draw level with the leading republics but has even begun to set the tone in many respects. This is undoubtedly thanks to Akayev and people of like mind. However, the tasks of the present—and particularly the future—require more than coordinated action by his team. It is important that this action penetrate to the "lower levels" without fail. The reforms will only succeed if they are close to the masses and every individual. Experience persuades us of this.

When perestroyka began, we talked and wrote a great deal about pluralism and a multiparty system. But it is apparently much easier to smash even a powerful organization like the CPSU than it is to create something new or even simply unite like-minded people. This automatically prompts the question: Will this slowness in forming progressive forces and these gaping holes in the political space not become the main obstacle to radical change in Kyrgyzstan? After all, you cannot rule out the possibility that quite different forces to the ones on which innovators are counting will try to fill this space. Politics will not tolerate a vacuum.

Tajikistan

Food Coupons Withdrawn in Dushanbe

PM1211144091 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by N. Nikulin and S. Dzheglov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Food coupons have been withdrawn in Dushanbe.

[Nikulin] As of the New Year in the city it has been decided to return again to the outside trade in accordance with a quota for sales per person. Working Dushanbe inhabitants will acquire goods at their own enterprises and organizations, and here children under the age of 18 will be counted. Pensioners will be able to acquire food at their place of residence in special stores, while students will acquire it at their place of study. Coupons have been withdrawn, but the Dushanbe inhabitants are in no hurry to get rid of them.

Perhaps before the New Year some of them may be lucky enough to manage to acquire with them flour, sugar, and butter, or perhaps sausage and meat but that, as the city newspaper reported, is in the realm of fantasy.

[Announcer] This reportage has a postscript. The ink had not yet dried, as they say, on the decision of the Tajik Cabinet of Ministers on the previous issue before the government immediately released prices for a number of food and industrial goods produced in the republic. Silks, part-woollen articles, enamelled dishes, all sorts of soap, and also sausages, cheese, by-products, and fish are now being sold at free prices. However strange it may seem, this list has included products from the sea, which clearly are not produced in the republic, because there is simply no sea there.

Muslim Leader Visits Pakistan, Meets Officials

OW1211065891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The spiritual leader of Tajik Muslims Kazi Akbar Turadzhonzoda left on Monday [11 November] for Islamabad for talks on cooperation with Pakistani leadership and Afghan mujahidin. As IF [INTERFAX] learned at the Dushanbe Kaziat (spiritual department), Turadzhonzoda will discuss the possibility of sending students of the Tajik Islamic Institute to Pakistan for probation, and terms for the delivery of typographical equipment to Tajikistan.

On Sunday [10 November] Turadzhonzoda met with a delegation of Afghan mujahidin who had arrived in Moscow. The Kaziat's press service reports the meeting focused on "cultural and religious cooperation."

Turkmenia

President Comments on Liberalizing Prices

OW1211183591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1610 GMT 12 Nov 91

[From INTERFAX's "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing an enlarged session of Turkmenistan's Presidential Council, President of Turkmenistan Saarmurad Niyazov said that without proper preparation the republic would not agree to release prices. Neither will it raise prices on food, he said.

Speaking about the former Union's external debts, Mr. Niyazov said that Turkmenistan "did not receive any credits from the Union and does not intend to pay back anyone else's debts". If Turkmenistan will ever receive credits from foreign countries, he added, it will be able to pay them back on its on.

Niyazov on Establishing Hard Currency Fund

OW1211070491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov issued a decree saying that starting from November 1st all enterprises of Turkmenistan should stop transferring hard currency to the USSR Vnesheconombank and start forming the republican hard currency fund. The decree suspends the previous resolution adopted on April 26th "On the formation of hard currency funds in 1991" which envisaged the sale by enterprises of 40% of their hard currency profits to the USSR Vnesheconombank for paying off the Soviet foreign debt, as well as the transfer of 90% of their export profits to the Union-Republican hard currency fund.

11th Supreme Soviet Session Opens 12 Nov

LD1211202691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Video report from Ashkhabad by correspondent K. Babayev—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The 11th session of the Turkmenia Supreme Soviet opened in Ashkhabad today.

[Babayev] It seems that Turkmen businessmen's activity will have a legal basis, at last. As recently as a year ago the idea of privatizing, say, industrial enterprises was flatly rejected by many leaders of our sovereign state. True, entrepreneurs themselves do little to insure that their activity is supported by the population. The overwhelming majority of small enterprises are getting fat mainly through mediation and not only fail to help the state to saturate the market with consumer goods but also, sometimes, themselves create shortages of goods. Thus, the disappearance of vodka from the shops is directly linked in the republic with deals in which vodka was bartered for Siberian timber. Maybe timber will appear at some storages, after all, but ordinary consumers will get none of either.

Such occurrences have been taken into account in a draft law on entrepreneural activity. Draft laws on joint-stock companies, consumer cooperatives, on destatization and privatization of property in Turkmenistan will also be discussed. A draft law on foreign economic activity has been singled out. By President Niyazov's decree the sale of 40 percent of the currency received by the republic to the USSR Vneshekonombank has been suspended as of 1 of November; 90 percent of the currency will now be used for creating republican currency funds.

The idea of liberalizing prices in Russia has not been supported in Turkmenia. Specifically, the government does not intend to raise prices for food products. Also, Turkmenia has refused to pay its part of the former USSR's debts, explaining this move by the fact that over the last few years the republic has not received any credits from the Union.